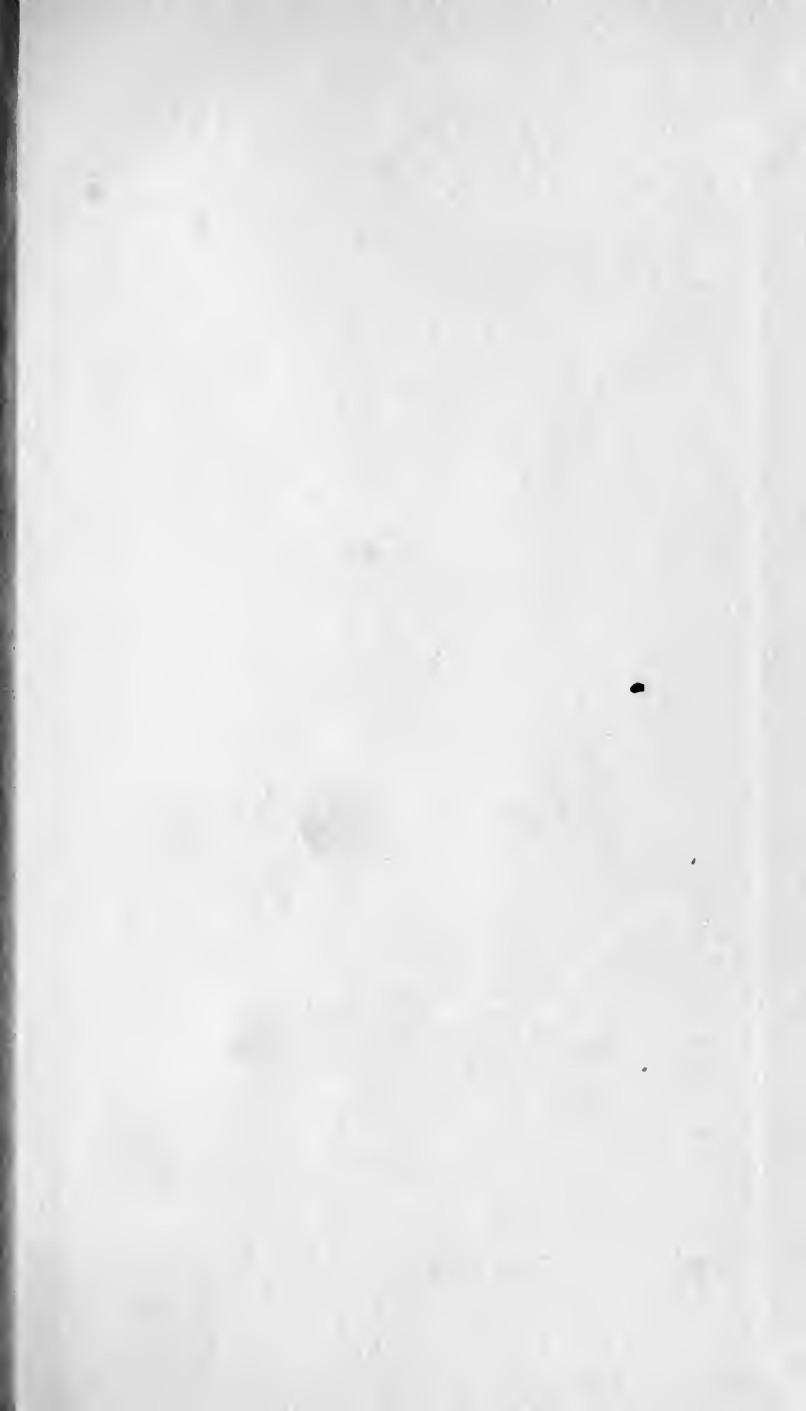




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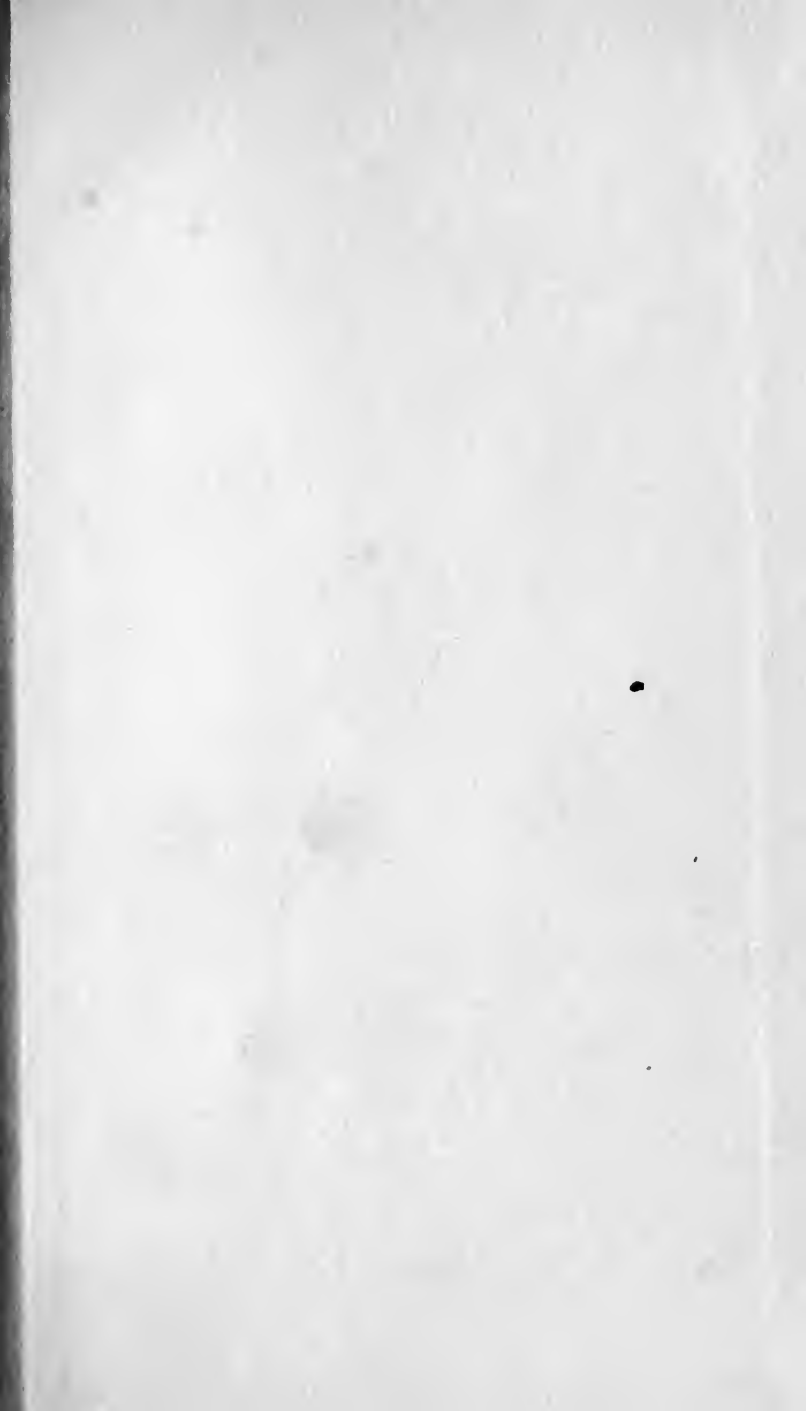
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THE HISTORY

OF THE
WORKS of the LEARNED,

FOR THE
Year One Thousand Seven Hundred
and Forty-Three.

CONTAINING
IMPARTIAL ACCOUNTS and ACCURATE
ABSTRACTS of the most valuable
Books published in *Great-Britain*
and Foreign Parts.

INTERSPERS'D WITH
DISSERTATIONS on several curious and enter-
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all Branches of polite Literature.

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Vol. 14



THE
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OF THE
WORKS of the LEARNED.

For JULY, 1743.

ARTICLE I.

LONDON.

Mr. Paul Vaillant, *Bookseller, in the Strand,*
has just publish'd the Translation of a French
Piece on Maritime Power and Commerce;
particularly those of France. It is entitled,
AN ESSAY ON MARITIME POWER and
COMMERCE; particularly those of *France.*
In an Epistolary Discourse. Address'd to
the Count de Maurepas, Secretary of State,
and of the Marine. By M. DESLANDES.



THE Translator of this Piece assures us,
in his Preface, there are few Books that
have appeared in the *French Language*
of late Years, which have better deserved
to appear likewise in ours than this.
The Author was perfectly well qualified to write it.
His perfect Acquaintance with maritime Affairs,
rais'd him to the Superintendence of one of the
A prin-

principal Ports of *France*. Since he has been in this Post, he has dedicated his Time and his great Parts to those Studies which were likely to be most useful to him in the Discharge of his Duty. He was encouraged to write this Essay by the Count *de Maurepas*, who has at this Time the Care of the *Marine*, and who is the ablest Minister at this Day in *France*. The Design in writing it is pretty evident, “ That Minister has been long endeavouring
 “ to inspire the Councils of his Country with an
 “ ardent Passion of retrieving the Naval Power of
 “ *France*, and setting it once again on the Foot
 “ upon which it stood in the Reign of *Lewis XIV*.
 “ In order to bring this to bear, the Count *de Mau-*
 “ *repas* has, from Time to Time, caused several
 “ Treatises to be written and published on Naviga-
 “ tion and Commerce, in such a Method as was
 “ most likely to stimulate the Pride, and excite the
 “ Jealousy of the *French Nation*.” This Work of *M. Deslandes* seems to be the Minister’s last Effort, both from the Matter of the Work itself, which is systematical, and comprehends, in a very narrow Compass, the Substance of what had been published before by Piece-meal, and from the Art and Industry which its Patron used to introduce it into the World, and to recommend it to the Perusal of all the curious Persons of that Kingdom.

We are to consider this Book then, “ as a mi-
 “ nisterial Treatise of Naval Power, intended to
 “ convince the Council of *France*, of the absolute
 “ Necessity of attending to the *Marine*, especially
 “ at this Juncture, and in order to justify any ex-
 “ traordinary Measures that might be taken to esta-
 “ blish such a *Marine*.”

The Essay itself, the Translator says, we shall find, in respect to Method, Matter, and Stile, a curious, entertaining, and useful Treatise, as well as an artful, ingenious, and well-adjusted Contrivance,

vance, for executing the political Design which gave it Birth. The Author has display'd his Wit, his Learning, and his great Knowledge of the Subject of which he treats, all in their proper Places. He gives a just and fair History of the Trade of the Ancients in a very narrow Compass, and in so masterly a Way, as to give a much better Notion of it, than those Writers who have treated this Subject more diffusively. Indeed, if we set aside the political Scheme of its Author, this ought to be considered as one of the most shining Parts of his Book; it being very extraordinary, that he should, in so short a Space, in a manner exhaust so fruitful a Topic, and, at the same Time, give it all the Graces of Stile and Method that could be expected or wished for. But if we take his political End into this View, we shall behold his History of ancient Commerce in a still better Light; it being certain, that how much soever he was Master of his Subject, he would never have treated it so largely here, if, in his manner of treating it, he had not more effectually recommended the Maxim he meant principally to establish, than he could have done any other Way. This Maxim is plainly, *that a superior Naval Force is absolutely necessary to universal Monarchy*; which he demonstrates in the most sensible manner, from the Examples of all the universal Monarchies that have ever subsisted. The Translator adds,

One sees, from the Management of this Author, how the most crabbed Subjects may be illustrated and render'd agreeable. By a judicious Mixture of modern with ancient History, he keeps the Mind in continual Action, and never suffers the Reader's Attention to languish. He introduces, very judiciously, Quotations from the best Writers of his own Nation, which, in the first place, enables him to insinuate much stronger Things than he could other-

wife have said himself; and, in the next, they give a Sanction to his Reflections, by shewing that his Opinions are the same with those of the greatest Men *France* has produced.

Besides this general Character of the Work before us, the Translator has in his Preface dropt two or three Observations that are plainly intended for promoting the *British* Interest. The following ought principally to be considered. He says, “ The
 “ greatest Advantage that can result from the read-
 “ ing this Book, is the gaining a just Notion of
 “ the present Design of *France*. Here we see, that
 “ the most powerful of our Neighbours; the most
 “ restless and ambitious Nation in *Europe*, our na-
 “ tural and implacable Enemies, have discovered the
 “ true Source of our Strength, and have nothing
 “ so much in View as to wrest it from us. We
 “ here see plainly, that she thinks it her Interest to
 “ ravish from us our Trade, and to establish, if
 “ possible, a Naval Power, equal or superior to all
 “ others. This ought to put us upon our Guard,
 “ and to engage us to make use, in Time, of those
 “ Advantages, which, by the Favour of Provi-
 “ dence, we at present possess: For if ever it
 “ should come to pass, that such a Spirit as this
 “ Author labours to excite, should prevail in *France*,
 “ at the same Time that it grew languid here,
 “ nothing could possibly prevent the *French* Mo-
 “ narch from attaining that Superiority at which he
 “ aims, by compleating our Ruin.”

In prosecuting his Subject, our Author enlarges on the four following Propositions: *First*, That all the Nations of Antiquity that were desirous of raising a universal Reputation, and distinguishing themselves above others, have cultivated a Maritime Force; and the more they have cultivated it, the greater Power and Authority they acquired. *Secondly*, That from the Beginning of their Monarchy, the

the *French* have always understood the Utility of a Maritime Power, that their greatest Kings have sought to establish it, and that the most judicious of their Ministers have bent all their Study and Industry that Way, tho' divers Obstacles have from Time to Time risen, and prevented their Councils taking Effect. *Thirdly*, That of all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, *France* is that which has the greatest Resources, and possesses more Advantages than any other for rendring a Maritime Power flourishing; and that it likewise stands most in need of such a Force, on Account of the large Extent of its Coasts, and its many Ports and Havens. *Fourthly*, That Maritime Power, supported by the Royal Authority, should serve to protect Commerce, to extend it, to gain it every Day fresh Acquisitions; and that Commerce should serve to introduce Abundance, and by spreading Riches through the whole Kingdom, render it as powerful as it is possible it should be.

I shall here give the Reader an Epitome of what our Author has advanced under the foregoing Heads.

In treating of the first Proposition he says, We ought to refer the Origin and Rudiments of Navigation to the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*. The principal Commerce pursued by the *Egyptians*, was that of the *East*, by Way of the *Red Sea*. There never was any Nation who knew so well as this, how to make use of all the Advantages that are to be derived from a great River. They had every where cut Canals, which, at the Time of its Inundation, were filled by the *Nile*, and those Canals facilitated the Transportation of valuable Commodities, as well as of the mere Necessaries of Life. If the *Chinese* are in Truth descended from the *Egyptians*, as some considerable Men have conjectured, then it must be owned they are so far from falling short of their Ancestors, that they in Truth exceed them

very far. They have rendered their whole Country navigable and easy of Access, by drawing Canals of Communication from one River to another, so that there is scarce a Town or even a Village which has not the Conveniency of Water-Carriage. We see farther, upon those Rivers, a prodigious Number of People, active, frugal, taken up entirely with the Study of Commerce, and who very rarely go ashore; and as all these People have nothing but Boats, of different Figures, for their Estates, as well as their Habitations, it frequently happens that these Boats unite and form a kind of Hamlets, which the *Chinese* range with so much Symmetry, that they call them with great Propriety, *Water-Towns*. By this Means the whole Nation is in Motion; they avoid Idleness, and never find any Thing difficult, where either Profit or Honour is to be acquired.

As for the *Phenicians*, one has Reason to be surpris'd at the mighty Power they so rapidly acquired, when one considers that they possessed only a narrow Slip of the Coast of *Asia*, hemmed in by Nations so powerful and warlike, as to hinder them from ever extending themselves. But this very Circumstance turned to their Advantage, it heightning their Courage, while their Desire of distinguishing themselves excited them to seek on the Sea a new Empire, which they were to owe solely to their Bravery. Full of these Ideas, they wisely profited themselves of all the Ports, Harbours, and Creeks on their Coast, and repaid themselves with Usury for the narrow Bounds to which their Country was confined. They merit also further Commendation, for having undertaken long and dangerous Voyages, without Assistance from the Lights of others, or being encouraged by any Examples.

It is probable, that the forced Sojournment of the People of God among the *Egyptians* inspired them
with

with an Inclination towards maritime Affairs, and that this Inclination was heightened by the Neighbourhood of *Tyre* and *Phenicia*. The Fleets of *Solomon*, which were sent to *Ophir* and *Tharſis*, brought from thence immense Riches. Never any Prince, how powerful or rich ſoever, amaffed ſo great a Quantity of Gold as he did, (one ſingle Voyage having produced him four hundred and fifty Talents of it) or ever carried Magnificence to that Height as it arrived at under his Reign.

The *East Indies*, which, after *China*, are of all Countries the beſt peopled, were for a long Time the Object of all the Voyages undertaken by the Ancients, and the ſole Commerce in which they engaged; all Nations vied with each other in going thither, in Proportion to their Patience, or the Talent they had for enriching themſelves: However, this Commerce, ſo great and ſo diſtinguiſhed, began to ſink by degrees; nay, it came at laſt to be quite extinguiſhed, and it was the *Ptolemies*, who, from their Thirſt of Glory, and of Power, revived it again. The Merchants of *Alexandria* then made themſelves Maſters of it, and ſent thither every Year conſiderable Fleets.

On the Decay of ancient *Tyre*, and by the Wealth and Wiſdom of the *Phenicians*, *Carthage* was erected. Nothing could be more rapid than the Progreſs of her maritime Power. Towards the End of the ſecond *Punic* War, ſhe reckoned within her Walls no fewer than 700,000 Inhabitants; at the ſame time more than 300 *African* Cities acknowledged her for their Metropolis: She had ſent Colonies into *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*; Colonies, that became as numerous as powerful. Her Veſſels every where reſpected, made daily new Conqueſts, and it is even believed they penetrated as far as *America*,

The Advantages of Navigation were too palpable, in respect to People of any Attention, long to escape the *Greeks*; that Nation, so industrious, and who knew so well how to appropriate to themselves the Inventions of others, could not fail of aiming at the Dominion of the Sea. We read what a vast Number of Ships were employed by them in the *Trojan War*; we see by that Expedition how powerful they were then by Sea and Land, how jealous of their Rights, and how unable to bear even the slightest Injuries. *Homer*, taking a poetical Liberty, undoubtedly exaggerated the Circumstances of this Enterprize; this, however, is at least certain, that from their very Origin the *Greeks* built Vessels, and knew how to manage them. By degrees, as they increased their Authority, as they grew stronger and better versed in the Art of Government, they applied themselves with much Ardour, to whatever had any Reference to Naval Power. To such a Pitch of this they arrived, that *Cimon*, Admiral of the *Athenian Fleet*, after a signal Victory over that of *Persia*, imposed on the great King this hard Condition, *viz.* to abandon all the Seas navigated by the *Greeks*, and not to suffer his Subjects to approach their Coasts nearer than three Days sail.

In the Age preceding the Birth of *Alexander the Great*, *Athens* and *Sparta* were engaged in disputing with one another the Empire of the *Egean* and *Ionian Seas*. After reciprocal Losses and Advantages, *Sparta* took one hundred and fourscore Ships from her Enemy, besieged her in Form, and forced her to surrender at Discretion. *Athens* was humbled by this, but not absolutely destroyed; she, in her Turn, repaid *Sparta* the same hard Measure she had received.

Philip, King of *Macedon*, from the very Beginning of his Reign, made the utmost Efforts to
 establish

establish a maritime Force, which he intended to use with a high Hand. The first Pretence of which he served himself for displaying a naval Power, was for repressing Pyrates, who were grown insolent through a long Series of successful Villanies, and of these he undertook to clear the *Egean* and *Ionian* Seas. But in a short time he began to exercise that Trade, of Piracy, himself. However unworthy this was of a Prince, he stoop'd to it for the sake of filling his Coffers; and the Parasites of his Court invented a thousand Reasons to prove it to be for his Honour.

His Son *Alexander*, who could not help being astonished himself at the Rapidity of his Victories, did not however forget, that, without a maritime Power, without a fixed and settled Commerce, his Conquests must not only become useless, but ruinous. It was for this Reason, that, after having subverted *Tyre*, and made *Carthage* tremble, he founded *Alexandria*, to be the Seat of that vast Monarchy, which he had planned to serve as the common Staple for Commerce, and to knit together, as one may say, the several Parts of the Universe.

And tho' *Alexander* did not live to see the Effects of this glorious Project, yet he, who among his Captains made himself Master of *Egypt*, being a Man curious in his Temper, and of an elevated Genius, favour'd the Establishment of *Alexandria*, and granted her all the Rights and Privileges she deserved. He opened again the Navigation of the *Indies*, which had been so long interrupted, and the Facility with which this was attended, with the tempting Hopes of Gain, drew to his Court all who thoroughly understood Trade, and were well versed in Navigation. For the yet greater Encouragement of Commerce in his Dominions, and to prevent any other Nation from interfering therein, he drew the Plan of a magnificent City on the West-side

side of the *Red Sea*, that he might be able to inspect his maritime Power in Person, and judge of the Encouragements necessary for striking out new Channels of Trade: But this Design meeting with many Obstacles, was not executed till after his Death, by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who was very expeditious in perfecting it, and gave the new City his Mother's Name of *Berenice*. This Emporium joined to a safe and commodious Port, called *Myos Hormos*, which quickly became the Mart for the principal Merchandizes of *Arabia*, *India*, *Persia*, and *Ethiopia*. These Merchandizes being laid up there, were thence transported by Camels to *Coptos*, where the publick Officers took care of their Embarkation on the *Nile*, and their Conveyance to *Alexandria*, where a continual Exchange was made of all the rich Commodities furnished from the *East* to the *West*, and of the Necessaries with which the *West* supplies the *East*, but in less Quantity: To facilitate this Traffic, which required Carriages, Artificers, and a vast Train of other Attendance, a fine Road was laid from *Coptos* to the *Red-Sea*, lined with a Canal, furnished with large Reservoirs of fresh Water at convenient Distances, as likewise Magazines and Inns for the Entertainment and Accommodation of the Traders. Besides this, *Ptolemy Philadelphus* kept two numerous Fleets, one in the *Red-Sea*, and the other in the *Mediterranean*, to scour those Seas of Pyrates, and protect the Merchants.

The *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, were not the only Successors of *Alexander*, that had an Eye to maritime Affairs. *Seleucus* and *Antigonus*, two other of his Captains, falling out on some trifling Occasion, equip'd great Fleets, and mutually attack'd each other. This last had a Son, *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, who distinguished himself by a Spirit of Invention, and a perfect Knowledge of Mechanics; he contrived

trived a new sort of Gallies, and many other Naval Machines.

Greece and the lesser *Asia*, were divided into many Kingdoms, that were almost continually at War with each other, and had alternatively Princes who thoroughly understood the Value of a Naval Power, and distinguished themselves thereby. Such were *Philip* and his Son *Perseus*, Kings of *Macedon*; *Attalus* and *Eumenes*, Kings of *Pergamus*; *Prusias*, King of *Bythynia*; *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, and the secret Partizan of all the Enemies of the *Roman* People; *Nabis*, and some other Tyrants, who settled and fortified themselves on the Coast of *Greece*.

The *Romans* did not possess themselves of all the Advantages that are derived from a great Force at Sea, till the Beginning of the second Punic War. Before that Time, they had attended little thereunto; either because they were then wholly occupied in extending their Dominions by Land, or that the first Misfortunes they had experienced on their own Coasts disgusted them, in respect to a Trade where all Things are exposed to Chance, and where there is perpetual Danger. But as their Genius led them to persevere in the Support of whatever they once discerned to be certainly useful, they no longer neglected maritime Affairs, when they found it was possible to reconcile them with their Views and Interests; and we may safely say, that it was to *Carthage*, the Haughtiness and Obstinacy of which gave them so much Trouble, they were chiefly indebted for this Obligation. When therefore the Senate took at last the Resolution of razing that City, the Consul *C. M. Figulus* made the following Harangue, by their Order, to the *Carthaginians*:
 “ It is the Sea, the mighty Power you have ac-
 “ quired thereon, the Treasures you have drawn
 “ from thence, that have hastened your Fall. It
 “ is

“ is the Sea, and the Power you possess thereon,
 “ that has tempted you to seize *Sardinia, Sicily,*
 “ *Spain*, that has seduced you to break your Trea-
 “ ties of Peace, to pillage our Merchant-Ships, and
 “ to endeavour to hide your Crimes, by drowning
 “ those you found on Board them : In a word, it
 “ has been your perfect Knowledge of maritime
 “ Affairs, that made you regard nothing else, and
 “ led you to place your Glory in the committing
 “ such mischievous Acts, as hitherto we have not
 “ been in a Condition, nor had the Power to
 “ punish. ”

Without running into a Detail of all the Expedi-
 tions entered into by the *Romans* after the Punic
 Wars, and in which they shewed so extensive a
 Capacity in the Conduct of their Arms, we shall here
 only observe, that as all their Enterprizes had some
 great End in view, so they never failed of keep-
 ing great Fleets at Sea, under the Command of able
 and experienced Captains. The Ruin of *Carthage*,
 subjected to *Rome* all the rest of *Africa*, which
 secured to them a constant Supply of Corn; and
 the burning of *Corinth*, which followed afterwards,
 finished the Demolition of *Greece*. The Conquest
 made by the *Romans* in *Asia*, proved the Source of
 such immense Riches as were little known to former
 Times, and introduced at *Rome*, and all the prin-
 cipal Cities of *Italy*, refined Luxury, a studied Ele-
 gancy, which diffused itself through all, and was
 alike visible in Buildings, Furniture, Dress, Gar-
 dens, and the Appurtenances of the Table.

All then gave Way to the *Roman* Power, and
Mithridates, who at first durst oppose them with so
 much Courage, sunk under their superior Force, when
 he saw all his Affairs declining by Land and Sea.
Lucullus, who triumphed over him, exposed among
 the Spoils he had taken from him, one hundred and
 ten Prows of Gallies sheathed with Copper.

But

But in the midst of so many Advantages, and so vast a Train of Success, there arose in the very Bosom of the Republic a maritime Power, that thought to have given her a mortal Wound. In its first Appearance this Power seemed very contemptible: It was no more than a Handful of Seamen and Soldiers who fled from the Rigour of the Laws, and became a Company of Pyrates; after having taken some considerable Prizes, they plunged themselves into all sorts of Brutalities, till they found themselves reduced to their primitive Necessity, by the Consumption of their Booty. A Life so voluptuous, not only increased their Number, but also drew to them some Persons of greater Rank, of whom most were tempted by the Novelty of the thing, and the rest compelled to it by domestic Distresses. There were even Senators, and some experienced Officers, who joined them, and who undertook to discipline and conduct them. Thus, by degrees, they were form'd into a kind of Republic, with Laws, and a particular kind of Polity agreeable to its Nature, which contracted Alliances and Correspondences in all Places, and which did not confine itself so strictly to the Sea, but that its Members made frequent Descents on the Coasts, in order to ravage the Country, and even to put considerable Cities under Contribution. The intestine Quarrels at *Rome* long hindred her from providing against this growing Mischief: At length, the People perceiving the *Egyptian* and *Sicilian* Corn Fleets did not arrive, and that all the Necessaries of Life rose excessively, they began not only to complain, but to clamour. *Pompey* was at last charged with the Conduct of this War, the Consequences of which appeared to be dangerous: In little more than two Years time he cleared the Seas of these Villains. Before the End of this Affair he

was convinced of this Truth, and often repeated it, that *he is Master at Land who is Master at Sea.*

The *Romans* had hitherto kept within the Bounds of the *Mediterranean*, but when *Cæsar* was Governor of *Gaul* they attempted the Ocean, and built Ships stronger and of greater Burden than they had formerly used. The Obstacles they encountered in their new Enterprizes, but heightened their Courage and Curiosity. *Cæsar's* Descent on *Britain*, must be regarded as a very hazardous Undertaking at that Time of Day; for that Country was not only unknown to the *Romans*, but, in a great measure, also to the *Gauls* themselves, who had only skimmed its Coasts, and bought there hastily such Commodities as they stood in need of. But *Cæsar's* Talents and Courage were equal to the Execution of the greatest Designs. In spite of all the Difficulties he had to encounter, he invaded that Island, and obliged the People, notwithstanding their passionate Love of Liberty, to submit to pay the *Romans* a considerable Tribute.

The new Lights that *Cæsar* acquired while he governed the *Gauls*, were of singular Use to him in the Civil War, which recalled him into *Italy*. It imported him always to be Superior at Sea, and he accordingly built and equipped abundance of Ships, like those he had seen in Use among the *Gauls*; he conformed also to their Discipline.

After the Death of *Cæsar*, *Augustus* his Successor, in spite of the little Capacity he had for martial Affairs in general, or Naval Exploits in particular, obtained many Victories by the Valour and Conduct of his Generals. He began with entirely ruining the Maritime Forces of the younger *Pompey*. He afterwards fought the Battle of *Actium*, which subdued *Anthony*, the Rival that he most feared. So great a Victory could not be left imperfect, it afforded an Opportunity for establishing a Maritime

time System which lasted during the whole Reign of *Augustus*. This System consisted in always having three stout Squadrons in a Condition to put to Sea; the first was stationed at *Frejus*, in the *Narbonnesian Gaul*, which was to restrain the Inhabitants of the *Spanish Coasts*, and of those Parts of *Provence* and *Languedoc* which are washed by the *Mediterranean*; the second was at *Cape Messina*, for the Security of the Navigation in that which was called the *Lower* or *Etrurian Sea*; the third at *Ravenna*, for securing the upper or *Adriatic Sea*. Besides these two last Squadrons he kept a certain Number of Soldiers, ready to embark at the least Warning, who were called *Classarii*, or *Marines*. Their Duty was to serve at Sea, in which they were continually exercised. He equipped also Ships for making Discoveries in *Africa* towards the *Equator*, others for examining the Coasts of *Europe* as far as the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, and, lastly, a third sort, that were to sail up such Rivers, the Mouths of which were only known. The Vessels employed in these Courses were stiled *Naves Lusoriae* or *Lusuriae*. In a word, the *Romans* never undertook such perilous or important Voyages as under the Reign of *Augustus*. That Emperor took care to send into the most distant Provinces, Men of the most quick and penetrating Parts, from whom he received a sincere and accurate Detail of all that passed there. But after his Death the Empire was sorely shaken, and its Foundations decayed by degrees. Few of his Successors had any Taste for Maritime Affairs: Even *Tiberius*, who at first pursued the Scheme of his Predecessor, and on whom that Compliment was bestowed, *Penes te Hominum Deorumque consensus Maris ac Terrae Regimen esse Vult*, To you by the consent of Gods and Men, the Rule of Earth and Sea is committed; even he, I say, speedily gave the Lye to his first Proceedings

ings, and suffered his Maritime Power to languish, and at length fall into utter Extinction.

Here then is a sort of Blank in Maritime History, wherein little appears but fortuitous Expeditions, fitter to be referred to Humour and Caprice, than to true Courage, or a just Desire of sustaining the Dignity of the *Roman* Name.

Two remarkable Facts however in this Period deserve to be taken notice of. The first respects the Emperor *Claudius Nero*, who built, at the Entrance of the Port of *Ostia*, a Mole equally solid and superb, defended by two stout Out-works, which were carried far into the Sea, their Foundations being laid on a Stone Platform, raised on a Flute that was afterwards sunk to the Bottom. Before his Time, this Port was an open Road, and very insecure, where Vessels had no sooner cast Anchor, than they were obliged to unload their Cargoes into flat-bottomed Boats, which easily remounted the *Tyber*; a Method of working that occasioned a great many Losses, created a great Expence, and sometimes was the Cause of Shipwrecks, when the Wind changed suddenly.

The second Fact relates to the Emperor *Trajan*, who enlarg'd and embellished the Port of *Ancona*, so as to render it one of the Wonders of the World. Round it were vast Piazzas for the Merchants to converse and expose their Goods in. There were also specious Keys, flank'd with Marble. Thence, by large and magnificent Stairs, you descended to the Strand, where Ships might be fastned to a Row of Columns at equal Distances, the Tops of which were crowned with the Heads of Sea Divinities.

Thus we have followed our Author through his first Proposition. He proceeds in the next Place to speak of the *Marine of France*, where we shall find a sufficient Proof of his second Proposition.

The

The *Gauls* who bordered on the Ocean, and at the Mouths of great Rivers, having the Advantage of many Islands, Capes, Promontaries, Ports, and Havens, and being at the same time naturally impetuous, strongly inclined to change their Habitations, and little fitted for domestic Employments, they almost all applied themselves to Maritime Affairs. Hence their Reputation grew thoroughly established in this respect, and they thought no Country out of their Reach to which their Vessels could carry them; and though it be true, that the *Romans* subdued them at Land, and divested them of their Rights, yet it is no less certain, that they seldom gained any Advantage over them by Sea. Every Seaman was among them as able as the best Pilots in other Nations. There were no Enemies in the World more formidable, or more terrible at Sea than they were. It was impossible to surprise them. If boarding became necessary, they leap'd into the Enemy's Vessel, and overturned all before them, before one could well expect to see them entered. If they chased a Vessel, they infallibly took her, let her be ever so fleet. If they were obliged to retire, they did it with such Address as to avoid the Reproach of flying.

The Reputation of the *Gauls* subsisted a long Time, by the Courage they testified in all their Rencounters, and still more by their sudden Irruptions, which rendered them infinitely terrible to their Enemies, and to all Maritime Nations.

The *Roman* Emperors who reigned before *Constantine*, had, as we have already observed, but slight Notions of Maritime Affairs. Those after *Constantine*, as they grew weaker and weaker, were often exposed to the Valour, and even to the Insults of the *Gauls*.

The *Romans* losing, under the Reign of *Clovis*, all that they possessed in *Gaul*, the Inhabitants were

at last delivered from so long and rigorous a Subjection. That young Conqueror founded a great Empire, that which the *French* have since rendered so much superior to others. All Things were then decided by great Battles, and *Clovis* fail'd not to be at the Head of his Troops, living in a familiar Soldier-like manner with his Captains, and his *Brethren in Arms*. There was not consequently under the first Race of the *Gallic* Kings, any need of a Maritime Power; and if in those Days the *Franks* had any Commerce, it was only from Cape to Cape, and Creek to Creek, and this was managed by small slight Vessels; they discontinued, in those Days, all long Voyages.

Under the second Race of her Kings, *France* found herself quickly disquieted on the Ocean by the Encounters of the *English* and *Danes*, and in the *Mediterranean* by those of the *Saracens*. This induced *Charlemagne* to take an exact Account of the State in which at that Time all the Ports of his Kingdom stood, to order all the old ones to be cleansed, and to open new ones. He engaged the most able *Mariners* by all imaginable Encouragements, and employed them in building a great Number of Vessels, which he kept constantly in Readiness for Service. And as he more and more perceived the Necessity of such an Establishment, and discerned plainly of what Consequence it was to the State, he undertook several Voyages in Person, that he might see Things with his own Eyes, and run no Risque of being imposed on by the Reports of unfaithful or unskilful Ministers. For this Reason that great Prince performed the Functions of Admiral throughout the whole Extent of his Kingdom, and left it as a Law to his Successors, to perform it with the like Exactness every two Years. *Lewis* the younger seems indeed to be the only one who ever thought of fulfilling this Injunction, and who took some Measures that way, especially about the Year

1102 : But the Mischiefs that infested his Reign, and above all, the natural Inconstancy of his Temper, would not allow him to persevere in the Prosecution of it.

To return to *Charlemagne* : He established the principal Seat of his Naval Power at *Bologne*, where he re-edified the ancient *Pharos*, which Time had destroyed. In order to preserve a kind of Communication throughout his whole Kingdom, he built at certain Distances little Towers, in which Centinels were posted in the Night-time, who passed the Word from each other. These Centinels were detached from *Corps de Gardes*, who defended the Approaches of the Coast, and took Care to prevent such Descents as Foreigners might meditate.

Another Design, still more advantageous to the *Marine*, was formed by *Charlemagne*, after he became Emperor, and that was to open a Communication between the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, in order to have procured a direct Passage from the Ocean to the *Black-Sea*. In this noble Project he employed many Architects, and more Engineers, who took the Level of the Ground, and marked out a Canal. It is but just to remark, that in all the Reigns which have made any Figure in the *French History*, we find Attempts to render Rivers navigable, and to join the Ocean to the *Mediterranean*. Something of this Kind was first attempted by *Francis* the first : But People were not in those Days so well versed in the Arts requisite for conducting vast Quantities of Water, or in sinking proper Levels to effect what was aimed at.

Charlemagne left behind him a Son, who had nothing of his Father's Spirit, but was a Slave to Superstition. His other Successors had not either greater Talents, more elevated Sentiments, or better Fortune in War. All Things languished under their Hands, and the Works which their magnanimous

Predecessor could only plan, were interrupted, and remained imperfect. In this general Declension of the State, the Barbarians recommenced their Courses, the North poured out of her Bosom swarms of People, who, imbarcking on Fleets, attacked *France* on all Sides: Some entered by the *Seine* and the *Loire*, others coasted round the Streight of *Gibraltar*, and sailed up the *Rhone* to *Valence*. To accommodate Things with such formidable Enemies, all the Conditions they thought fit to impose were submitted to, and even *Normandy*, one of the finest Provinces of the Kingdom, was yielded to them.

Things having taken this Turn, Maritime Affairs were entirely forgotten in *France*, and never dreamt of again, till the Expeditions to the *Holy Land* became the Ambition of the *European* Princes. The *French*, in order to go upon these Exploits, were first obliged to make use of *Venetians*, *Genoëse*, and *Castillans*, and to hire Ships of them at a vast Expence, which retarded these Enterprises, and hindered them from being executed with a becoming Activity.

The great Number of Persons of Distinction, with their Trains and Equipages, so frequently passing the Sea, drew the *French* Kings, in some measure, out of that Stupefaction under which they had so long laboured, with respect to Maritime Affairs. Some Ships they built at *Marseilles*, and drew together others from the Coasts of *Provence* and *Languedoc*; but in doing this they made use of violent Methods, took away the Vessels of private Men without the least respect to Property, and thereby put an absolute Stop to Trade, at least for a Time. These Sorts of Armaments could have little or no Success.

It was during the Course of the holy Wars, as they were called, that a new Office was erected unknown to former Times, viz. that of Admiral.

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As there was no body in *France* able to execute this Trust, it was at first given to Strangers. Thus, under St. *Lewis*, it was executed by *Hugues Lartaire* and *Jaques de Levant*, both Natives of *Genoa*; it was afterwards conferred on *Spaniards*, and even on *English*. But that which was at first the Recompense of Maritime Toils, became, in Process of Time, the Object of the Ambition of the great Lords of the Kingdom, who were well enough pleased with the Title and Emoluments of a Function which they had not the Skill to exercise.

The Title of Admiral was not used in *France* before the Time of St. *Lewis*; there was, however, under the Reign of *Philip Augustus*, a certain Officer, who in some measure discharged the same Office.

To the *Croisades* succeeded the long and important Quarrels between the *French* and the *English*. As they attacked each other without the least Management, and sought every Occasion of mischieving each other, there happened several Sea-Fights between them, which lasted long enough to discover a great deal of Maritime Skill. The two most considerable were that of *Bayonne*, under *Philip the Fair*, and that of *Sluys*, in which last *Philip of Valois* lost the best Part of his Fleet, which was in a great measure owing to a Misunderstanding among his Officers, and was, in some degree, occasioned by their not being able to preserve the Advantage of the Wind. One great Unhappiness to which the *French* were liable in all Affairs of this Sort, was their being obliged to make use of Foreign Vessels, which never obeyed but slowly, and with Reluctance. It is true, that the *English* likewise did not as yet build their own Ships, but had them from *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Hamburgh*, and *Dantzick*, which Custom lasted even to the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*. It must be acknowledged, that in these Sorts of Expeditions, the *French* were either less able or less fortunate than

the *English*. At the same Time both Nations shewed an equal Valour, or rather an equal Temerity, and were in all respects Rivals worthy of each other.

Charles V. was a Prince who had the greatest Difficulties to struggle with in his own Kingdom; but he perfectly understood of what Importance it was, in order to his checking the Insults of the *English*, to be more powerful than they at Sea. He therefore employed his utmost Endeavours for establishing a Fleet, and for gaining the absolute Disposition of that of the *Castillians*, which was then very numerous. In this Project he was very happily seconded by *John de Vienne, Seigneur de Coucy*, then Admiral, who executed that Office with a superior Capacity.

The Successor of *Charles V.* falling into a State of Lunacy, and so being in no Condition to manage Things himself, could not support the Regulations introduced in the *Marine*. It sunk therefore, and so much the faster, as the Kingdom was torn by the Intrigues and Outrages of the two powerful Houses of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*. Add to all this, that the *English* had introduced themselves, and were fortified in the very Heart of *France*.

The Desire of being Masters of the Riches of *Italy*, joined to imprudent Councils, engaged *Charles VIII. Lewis XII. and Francis I.* to endeavour to make good their Pretensions to the Dutchy of *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*. This laid them under indispensable Necessity of having always considerable Squadrons ready to put to Sea. But as they found themselves in an absolute Want of a Naval Power, they had Recourse to the Republic of *Genoa*, and moreover took, by Force, all the trading Vessels belonging to the Merchants of *Provence* and *Biscay*. There was not, at that Time, in the whole Kingdom, so much as one Naval Arsenal.

Lewis

Lewis XII. soon perceived the Inconveniencies of all this, and determined to remedy it, by improving his own Naval Power. In order hereunto he obliged the principal Cities of his Kingdom to furnish him with a Fleet, and to maintain it, during the War, at their own Expence. *Paris* was comprised in this Regulation, and rated at a Ship of 800 Tons, which threw the whole City into Confusion. The Provost of the Merchants, and the Echevins, represented their Inability to the King, who, touched with their Case, contented himself with a Vessel of 400 Tons. The other Cities, disposed thereto by this Example, contributed in their respective Proportions.

The Maritime Power of *France* might perhaps have risen to a considerable Pitch at this Time, if it had not been for the intestine Troubles which followed, and divided the Nation into various Factions. The House of *Guise* endeavouring to engross the whole Power of the State, and to supplant those of *Chatillon* and *Montmorency*, they all three concurred in sacrificing their Country's Interest to the Thirst of Power. It must, however, be acknowledged, that, in the Heat of these Disorders, the *French* Kings published two Edicts in relation to the general Establishment of the *Marine*. One of these was issued at *Amboise*, by *Charles IX.* in 1562; and the other at *Paris*, by *Henry III.* in 1584. But these Ordinances rather served to shew the Need they had of a naval Force, than to point out the Means of establishing it. But by a Series of Disgraces that succeeded one another, the whole Constitution sunk unde *Henry III.* who was more inclined to effeminate Pleasure than to any martial Enterprises.

Henry IV. was no sooner settled on the Throne, than he applied himself to the Care of Navigation and Commerce; the Importance of which he was sufficiently instructed in, by the ge-

nerous Succours he received from the Queen of *England*. Such an Example emboldened him, and he gave Orders to President *Jeaning*, who was then going in Quality of Ambassador-Extraordinary to the States-General, to gain the best Lights into these Affairs, and to bring with him into *France* some Sea-Officers, who had made long Voyages.

The Scarcity of Ships under which *Henry IV.* yet laboured, emboldened the Grand Duke *Ferdinand* to assume the Sovereignty of the *Mediterranean*, and to retain, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, the Islands of *If* and *Pomegue*, which he had seized during the Time of the Civil Wars. No body on the Coast of *Languedoc* and *Provence* durst attempt to stop his Courtes and his Pyracies; to such a Degree did the Enemy triumph over the Weakness of *France* in this Instance. *Henry* was at last forced to have Recourse to a Negotiation, and even to engage the Pope to act as a Mediator.

The Grand Duke of *Tuscany* broke a second Time with *Henry IV.* and went over to the *Spanish* Party; and when the King ordered the Marquis *d'Alincourt* to remonstrate sharply to him upon this Subject, the *Italian* Prince, without being at all disconcerted, made Answer, That if his Master had had only forty Gallies in his Port of *Marseilles*, he should have taken great Care of acting the Part he had done.

But the Time drew on, in which a superior Genius was to appear in *France*; I mean Cardinal *Richlieu*. He, with a perfect Judgment, and exact Knowledge of the Matter, laid the Foundation of a Naval Power in that Kingdom. The Advantages that would arise to his Country from this Project, and all the Superiority it was capable of conferring, this great Minister had absolutely discovered and distinguished at the Siege of *Rockelle*, which he conducted himself by the Force of his own Understanding,

standing, as the principal Engineer; and what passed there under his own Eyes, in relation to the Descent the *English* made on the Isle of *Rhe*, sufficed to convince him of the vast Importance, or rather absolute Necessity of what he had in View, to the Strength and Glory of his Nation. Hence it was, that, through the Course of his Administration, he caused a vast Quantity of Timber, fit for Building, to be collected, erected Magazines, and built Abundance of Vessels. His principal Intentions in all were, on one Side, to abate the Haughtiness of the House of *Austria*; and, on the other, to share with the *English* the Empire of the Sea, and perhaps at a proper Juncture to seize it wholly.

The Office of Grand Master, Chief and Superintendant-General of the Navigation and Commerce of *France*, to which he was raised in 1626, on the Resignation of the Duke of *Montmorency*, gave him an Opportunity of executing most of the Schemes he had formed, and at the same Time secured to him all the Honours and all the Prerogatives of the *Marine*. One of the first Uses he made of this, to the great Astonishment of the whole Court, was to attack the Duke of *Espernon*, who, in Quality of Lord of the Territory of *Candale*, pretended to appropriate to himself all the Wrecks that happened upon the Coast of *Medoc*. The Cardinal, who knew not what it was to fear any Man, contested this pretended Right, especially in Regard to two *Portuguese* Carraques, which, in their Return from *Goa*, were cast away on that Coast in 1627. The old Duke, at that Time Governor of *Guyenne* and *Bordeaux*, resisted for some Time; but at last he was obliged to submit. The Right of Admiralty was taken from him, and united to the Crown. This was a sad Mortification to a Nobleman, who was, our Author says, *the fiercest*
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of all Gascoignes, and the most of a Gascoign that ever Man was.

Richlieu gave the kindest Reception to every Proposition that was made him on the Subject of Commerce; he excited the principal Merchants in the Kingdom to travel into Foreign Countries, in order to enquire into and learn their most curious Manufactures, and to penetrate the Secrets of particular Traders; besides this, he brought into *France*, at his own Expence, several rich Traders, with whom he was wont to retire, and spend several Hours in a free Conversation, wherein he weighed all the Forces of the Kingdom, entered into the most perplexed Calculations, and the most laborious Enquiries; the principal Design of all was, to import Foreign Manufactories, and naturalize them in *France*. It is said, that he intended the forming a grand Company for promoting Commerce, which was to have had Factories and Magazines in all the chief Cities of the Kingdom, and was to have undertaken the general Importation of all the Merchandise the Nation stood in Need of, even from the most distant Countries.

The rapid Success of the Cardinal's first Designs surpris'd even those whom he employed, and evinc'd what *France* was able to effect when she exerted all her Art and Force. In a short Space she sent out of *Brest* and *Toulon* large Fleets, superbly equipped, and commanded by the most experienced Officers; her Vessels spread over the Ocean and the *Mediterranean*, challenging every where that Respect which is due to the White Flag; she caus'd *Genoa* and *Algiers* to be bombarded, in Revenge of some Insults, and carried Terror into the very Heart of *Africa*; in fine, she, alone, resist'd the combined Fleets of all her Enemies.

The long and shining Reign of *Lewis XIV.* rais'd the *Marine* of *France* to its utmost Glory. The *Gallic* Name resounded in the most distant Countries,

Countries, where, a little before, it was not expected ever to have been known. Every one is apprised of the Share the *Marine* had in that Train of glorious Successes wherewith this illustrious Period was even crowded. Sometimes this victorious People, by repeated Engagements, enfeebled the Naval Forces of their Enemies, and for a while prevented their Appearance at Sea. It was thus *du Quesne* acted, after the City of *Messina* delivered itself up to *France*; he twice beat the *Dutch* Fleet, mortally wounded their Admiral *de Ruyter*, and remained sole Master of the *Mediterranean*. Sometimes they surpris'd and carried off immense Treasures, which the Enemy were carrying to the *Levant*, witness the Loss the *English* sustained in their *Smyrna* Fleet in 1693, which fell into the Hands of *Messieurs de Nesmond* and *des Augers*. Sometimes, with very small Forces, they put their Colonies in such a Condition, as not to apprehend any Thing even from the superior Strength of an Enemy: Admiral *de Ruyter* could not, with 48 Sail, and 3000 Land Forces, make himself Master of the Fort of *Martinico*; nor could the *English*, with 34 Ships and 6000 Men, do the least Prejudice to *Quebec*. Sometimes they carried off entire Fleets of Merchant or Fishing-Vessels: Such were the Exploits executed by the famous *John du Bart*, the Count *de Fourbin*, the brave *St. Paul*, *Tourouvre*, and *Roquefeuil*; the first carried off in 1694 a Fleet laden with Corn, at a Time when *France* was distress'd by Famine, and brought it into *Dunkirk*. At other Times Descents were made with the greatest Intrepidity; as when the Marshal *d'Estrees* landed at *Tabago*, where he put very strong Towns under Contribution, or took them by Surprise, as in the Case of *Cartagena* by Admiral *Ponti*, and *Rio de Janeiro* by *Gue-Trouin*. Add to all those Exploits of the *French Marine*, the forcing the haughty and
powerful

powerful Republic of *Genoa*, to make unheard-of Submissions, and such as were even contrary to the Constitution of her Government; and the gallant Behaviour of *M. Tourville*, who with no more than fifty Ships of the Line, defended himself against fourscore and eight of the Enemies, in the memorable Engagement he had with the *English* and *Dutch* near *La Hogue*, in the Month of *May*, 1692.

Having thus endeavoured to shew by what Revolutions the Maritime Power of *France* has, by Degrees, arrived at that flourishing State to which *Lewis XIV.* raised it; our Author now proceeds, according to his third Position, to set forth how easily it may be maintained in the same State, and to propose some Means for retrieving it, in case it should be impaired by any Accident.

France, he tells us, has many Advantages for this Purpose that are wanting to other Nations in *Europe*. Four of these he specifies: The first is, without Contradiction, her Situation, the most Commodious that can be, as well for attacking as defending, for disturbing the Commerce of others, as for cultivating her own, sending to all Places, and receiving trading Vessels from all Parts of the Earth. She is placed in the middle of *Europe*, commanding, on one Side, over the Ocean, and by the vast Extent of her Coasts, by their Turnings and Windings, lording over the Seas of *Spain*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*; on the other, she is bounded by the *Mediterranean*, looking full upon *Barbary*, having *Spain* on her right Hand, while at her left lie *Genoa*, *Nice*, *Tuscany*, and all the rest of *Italy*.

The *English* and *Dutch* are forced to strike out far for whatever is necessary to them, and are constrained to put out to Sea, in order to reconnoitre and attack their Enemies; whereas *France* is able to assail them, as it were, Hand to Hand, to combat with Advantage, and to retire with Ease; which
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are Circumstances of no small Consequence at Sea, where Dangers are so frequent and sudden. But what is still more, foreign Vessels, returning from long Voyages, and impaired by the usual Maritime Incidents, are obliged to approach the *French* Coasts. One may easily judge what a Facility this gives of distressing the Navigation of an Enemy, and promoting their own Gain.

A second Advantage of *France* is, the natural Security of her Coasts, which in a manner defend themselves, and which have hitherto defeated all the Descents that ever were attempted on them. Witness those that Admiral *Tromp* would have made in 1674, not only at the Mouths of the *Loire* and of the *Groyne*, but along the Coast of *Bretagne*, *Poitou*, *Saintonge*, and *Guienne*. He found that all was so well guarded, and that every where such good Orders were given, that he durst attempt nothing considerable. Witness again, the Invasion attempted by Lord *Berkley* in 1694, at *Camaret*, in which the *English* lost upwards of 1200 Men, with the brave General *Talmash*, who commanded the Troops that were debarked. The *French*, however, opposed him with no more than two independent Companies of Marines, and the Militia appointed for the Defence of the Coast. Lord *Berkley* attempted several other Descents on *Normandy* and *Flanders* with no better Success.

To this natural Security of their Coasts which enables them to save a mighty Expence, may be added the Fertility of the *French* Maritime Provinces. This renders them extremely agreeable, opulent and populous, by drawing to them a vast Concourse of Strangers. All the other Kingdoms of *Europe*, (our Author says, how justly I know not) on the contrary, complain of the unlucky Situation of their Coasts, which are Mountainous, Sandy, and Sterile. However, the Countries, that are unfortunate

nate in this Instance, have an Advantage that may be a Counterballance, and which our Author can hardly forbear envying them; it is this, that the Sea or some great navigable River washes their capital Cities. By this Means, the principal Men of the State, as well as the inferior People, have perpetually in View the unspeakable Benefits of Trade and Commerce, and are in no Danger of entertaining that slight Regard, or rather absolute Contempt of them, of which our Author accuses the *Parisians*, who know nothing of them, as he says, but by Report; and who, instead of that Industry and Traffic, by which the Inhabitants of Sea-ports raise their Families to Wealth and Splendor, indulge in Indolence, concerning themselves about nothing that does not conduce to Amusement or Pleasure. Such a Temper and such a Conduct leads directly to Slavery and Want. *

A third Advantage that *France* enjoys is, that the most considerable Armaments may be there made with the greatest Facility and Dispatch. She has within herself almost all the Materials requisite to a Maritime Force, besides an infinite Number of able Artificers, who are capable of employing and applying them in the best manner, and of Sailors for navigating her Fleets.

* Our Author would have young Gentlemen of Quality, who are like to be hereafter at the Helm of the State, instructed in all that relates to the foreign Colonies, in what is indispensibly necessary to supply the Wants of the Kingdom, in the principal Manufactures that employ and enrich the several Provinces; pointing out to them such as are beginning to decay, and such as, tho' they are absolutely decayed, might yet be restored, and brought to be of infinite Benefit to the Kingdom, by preventing great Sums going out into foreign Parts. In short, they should be taught what constitutes the Riches of a Nation, *viz.* Estates in Land, Trade, and Manufactures: They should be shewn how these three Branches are connected, how they mutually depend on, and assist one another.

Before

Before the Time of M. Colbert, the *French* were obliged to bring from *Holland* almost every Kind of Sea-stores, down to the Iron Work for their Anchors, Match, Cordage, Cables ready-made, Saltpetre, and even Cannon Powder. M. Colbert was determined to banish foreign Manufactures, and to establish Things of this sort at Home, upon so much better a Footing, as quickly to excel those with which they were formerly supply'd. He further resolved to extract from the natural Riches of the Kingdom, whatever it was possible they should produce. He created, in *France*, Arts, Taste, Genius, of which, till then, it was utterly ignorant; he imported from abroad foreign Manufacturies, and the ablest Manufacturers, cultivated and cherisht them till they were firmly established, and produced invaluable Fruits.

The last Advantage of *France* respects the Order of Government, and, in one Word, the whole System of her *Marine*. The different Usages, Regulations, Employs, and all Sorts of Labours relating thereto, are disposed in such a manner, that they enter into, and corroborate each other.

The Conduct of this Province is divided between two Bodies of Men, who are so perfectly well acquainted with their respective Privileges and Prerogatives, as to observe one another with some degree of Jealousy, and to put each other reciprocally in mind of their Duty; and while those who make up one of these Bodies devote themselves to the Fatigues of War, the other takes Care at home to provide every thing that is requisite to their acting abroad with Vigour and Success. † The *Marine* of *France* is distinguished

† The *French* Writers are many of them so affectedly laconic and obscure, that they are often unintelligible. We can only guess here what our Author means by these two Bodies: I suppose, by the latter he intends the Admiralty, and by the former the enrolled Sailors. These latter were by an Ordinance, dated

guished in a particular manner, by that Military Corps of which it is in a great Part composed : This gives it an Air of Dignity, and a Preheminence above any other in *Europe*. Moreover the *French* Vessels are, in general, better provided in all respects, than those of any other Nation. In them there is nothing wanting, as to what is requisite for Battle, or for the Preservation of the Seamen and Soldiers embarked : The Value of Mens Lives is well considered, and it is esteemed the highest Point of Prudence to take all the Care that is possible of their Preservation.

Some have objected, that “ a Maritime Force
 “ requires so vast an Expence for its Maintenance,
 “ and has so ruinous a Train at its Heels, as render
 “ it a Detriment rather than a Benefit to a Nation.”

To this our Author answers,

First, It is true, that the *Marine* requires a pretty large Expence: But does not every other Branch of Government the same? Can a War be sustained, a Revenue be collected, a Royal Family be maintained, a Correspondence with foreign Nations be kept up, without disburfing great Sums of Money? Besides, if the *Marine* requires the expending largely afore-hand, it will not fail to repay quickly, and with sufficient Usury. Is it not that which protects and enlivens Trade both at home and abroad; that secures our Traders and Merchants throughout all the different Parts of the World? Is it not that which defends our Coasts in Time of War, that would be otherwise ravaged, and preserves our trading Ships from Capture? In a Word, is it

22 September, 1668, divided into three Classes, of which one was obliged to serve annually on board the King's Ships, and the other two were at Liberty to serve the Merchants. They have been since distributed into five Classes. In the Year 1681, there were in *France* 60,000 enrolled Men. Like a true *Frenchman*, our Author speaks of these Marines as all *Heroes*, intrepid, indefatigable, invincible.

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not that which provides a Vent for the natural Productions and Manufactures of our Country, and furnishes a Supply for the Revenue? The Balance, on the Side of *France*, of its Commerce with Foreigners, was computed many Years ago at 7.000,000. This Torrent of Wealth flowed in by the Canal of the *Marine*.

Secondly, The principal Riches of a State, according to Cardinal *Richlieu*, is its Reputation: But how is that Reputation to be acquired and preserved? The same Cardinal has pointed out two Methods equally noble and sure; the first is, to entertain, in all Courts, Ambassadors, whose Birth, Conduct, Train, and Expence, may do Honour to the Master who employs them; the other, to lay hold on all Opportunities of encreasing the Extent and Power of the *Marine*; to cause considerable Squadrons to be annually fitted out, and to rendezvouz yearly at such Places as *Cadiz*, *Genoa*, *Algiers*, *Copenhagen*, and in the Passage of the *Sound*; where, as one may say, all the Nations of *Europe* assemble, and where it is proper to strike their Eyes, by the appearance of such Armaments. 'Tis there that a Prince, who has a good Reputation, does more by the bare Interposition of his Name, than others can do who are less esteemed, with all their Menaces and Intrigues. I add, a Nation's Reputation, and, consequently, its Interest, may not be a little promoted by sending numerous Squadrons from Time to Time into *America* and the *East Indies*.

Thirdly, If there be any Excess in the *Marine*, with regard to its expensiveness, that is not to be charged to the *Marine* itself, but rather to the Corruption of those, to whom the Management of it is committed. And here our Author brands his own Country in Terms that are no less applicable to *England*. In *France*, says he, "they can scarce distinguish any thing that looks like Frugality,"

“ Oeconomy, or Disinterestedness. All Things are
 “ now executed at a vast Expence, and all we do
 “ is swallowed up in Pomp and Decoration; private
 “ Interest overbalances the Love of publick Good,
 “ and that Regard which is due to our Country.”

We are now come to the fourth Part of this Work, the Design of which is to shew, that Maritime Power, supported by the Royal Authority, serves to extend and protect Commerce, and that Commerce, so encouraged, serves to render a Nation Rich and Powerful.

The *Marine* may be considered, either as it relates to the King, or to private Persons.

The Former has in View, War, the Reputation of the Nation, and the Security of Commerce; the latter is employed about Trade only. In this latter Branch, some have distinguished themselves, in such a manner, and so much advantaged their Country, as to procure the justest Titles to Nobility. Such was the famous *Cosmo de Medicis*, who, having engaged in almost a universal Commerce, and having entertained Correspondencies and contracted Alliances with all the Princes of *Europe* and *Asia*, merited at last to be set at the Head of his Fellow Citizens; and his Posterity not only maintained themselves upon the Throne, but allied themselves also to the most ancient Houses in *Europe*, and have given Successors to St. *Peter*. Such were the *Fuggers* or *Fouckers* of *Germany*, who lent immense Sums to the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, and, to thank him for the Honour he did them, by lodging at their House, when he came to *Ausburg*, placed a Cedar Faggot in his Chymney, and desired him to light it with his own Bonds. Such, again, was the famous *James Coœur*, a French Man, the Confidant and Banker of *Charles VII.* who, having been ill used by the Court, retired into the Island of *Cyprus*, where, by his Commerce, he acquired such immense
 Wealth,

Wealth, as to be able, in his own Name, and at his own Expence, to arm against the *Mahometans*, and even to give them Battle, in which he succeeded beyond what a private Man could have hoped.

The Officers of the *Marine* in *France*, are divided into three Classes, each of which has it's distinct Province: The Business of the first is, to collect proper Materials, and to dispose them in such a manner as to render them applicable, with the greatest Ease, to all the Uses of Navigation. It is plain, there is a good Genius, much Knowledge, Judgment, and Experience, requisite to the executing of this Branch; where the Persons employed are to view and purchase large Falls of Timber, to inspect, buy, and sort, an infinite Number of all kinds of Commodities, for the constructing, careening, and equipping of Vessels. The *French* have never had, in their *Marine*, more than two, who have been distinguished by consummate Abilities of this kind, *viz.* *Desclouseaux* and *Vauvre*, both chosen by *M. de Seignelai*, both of them Men of elevated Genius, who had high Conceptions, and who never considered Difficulties in any other Light than as Steps conducive to the Glory of surmounting them.

The second Class of the *Marine* has for its Province, the Management of the different Branches of Duty on Board, and the Conduct of Ships at Sea, i. e. Navigation, strictly and properly taken; and this last includes two things, *viz.* the Art of Piloting, and of Working. The first respects the Use of the Compass, Sea Charts, Instruments for taking Altitudes, or for measuring the Ship's Course, with all the Apparatus necessary for making a just Estimate in respect of these Particulars. The second regards the working of the Ship, the Steering, the handling of the Sails, and taking all the Advantages that can be made by Winds and Currents; or, on the other hand, obviating the Inconveniencies that may arise from them.

them. The third Class has for its Object the Forms and Methods which are settled in every Port, in order to bring all Expences to a just Account, fixing the Estimate, Muster Rolls, and other Things of a like Nature, and, in short, what is called keeping the Ship's Books.

This is, in gross, what concerns the Royal *Marine*. As to the *Marine* in the Hands of private Persons, it flourishes throughout all the Maritime Provinces of *France*, more or less; 1st, according to the Degree of Fortune, Ability, and Industry of those concerned in it. 2dly, in proportion to the Quantity of their circulating Cash. 3dly, according to the critical Circumstances which encrease or diminish, quicken, or retard this Circulation.

Commerce by Sea is carried on three different Ways. The least considerable is that from one Port of the Kingdom to another, called *Coasting*; this serves principally for maintaining a constant Correspondence between all the Maritime Provinces, by supplying from one what is wanting in another. This Sort of Commerce is carried on very advantageously in *France*, its Coasts being very proper for it, safer than those of most other Countries, never frozen up, but equally accessible at all Seasons of the Year, and it excites and exercises a Spirit of Industry.

The second kind of Naval Commerce is that which is carried on throughout *Europe*, in a mutual Communication of the Commodities of the several Countries of it. This reciprocal Intercourse is either of the Products of their Soil, their substantial Manufactures, or Curiosities; and the better any Place is stocked with these, the more will Strangers resort thereto, and the more Trade will flourish: For the Materials of this in all Countries are, the Products of a fruitful Soil, and the Labours of an industrious People.

France,

France, in her Hemp and Flax from *Bretagne*, in the Salts of *Broüage*, of *Marennnes*, and of *Croïſſe*; in the red Wines of *Bourdeaux*, in the white Wines of *Anjou*, in the Brandies of *Nantz*, of *Cognac*, and the Isle of *Ré*; in the Papers of *Auvergne*, and of *Angouleme*; in the Parchments of *Normandy*; and the Gold and Silver Brocades of *Lyons*; in all Sorts of Grain, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rice, has a ſufficient Fund for Commence which can never fail her. It muſt be confeſſed, that, ſince the Revocation of the Ediſt of *Nantz*, the moſt unfortunate Event in the Reign of *Lewis XIV*, many of the *French* Manufactures are naturalized in foreign Countries. But there are ſtill enough left in the Kingdom, if well managed, both to employ its Inhabitants and enrich them. And theſe are to be hurt only by Idleneſs, want of due Care in the Workmanſhip, and Fraud in Dealing.

From the Time that Edward the Third of *England* drew over a vaſt Number of Artizans, who eſcaped from the Cruelties of the *Spaniards* in the Low Countries, and eſta bliſhed them in his own Domini ons, the Woolen Manuſactury, which they brought with them, has flouriſhed therein, with great Reputation. The *Engliſh* carry on a prodigious Trade with it in *Germany*, the *Netherlands*, and in the *Levant*. Formerly, neither they nor the *Dutch* could approach the Grand Seignior's Coaſts, but under the Banner of *France*. But now they trade there in their own Name and Right; and as their Traffic has encreaſed, that of *France* has ſuffered by many Loſſes, Bankrupcies, and other Cauſes of Declenſion, that it's to be doubted whether it will ever be able to recover its ancient Luſtre.

But theſe two Species of Commerce that have been mentioned merit only a cuſory Attention. It is that which extends to the other three Parts of the World, that deſerves the greateſt Application, and

requires the greatest Skill. The Risques of this are far beyond those of that lesser Commerce which is carried on from Port to Port of the same Country, or between the different Countries of *Europe*; and by which so many shining Fortunes are honestly acquired.

Almost all the *European* Nations carry on some Commerce with *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*. But this is in very different Degrees. The *Portuguese* are justly considered as the Restorers of Navigation and Foreign Commerce. They were the first who made Acquisitions for this Purpose in *Asia*, where they obtained large Territories, insomuch that several *Arab* Kings were in their Pay, and many Pagan Princes thought themselves honoured by their Commands. Their Authority, however, is now but the Shadow, and their Power but the Skeleton of what it was; and *Goa* itself, the Metropolis of their *Indian* Dominions, is no longer famous, but for its terrible Inquisition; that horrible Tribunal, where no Forms of Justice are observed, and where natural Equity never finds a Place in their Decrees. The *Hollanders* are at present the chief Masters of the Trade of the *East-Indies*, which they manage with infinite Address, and a happy Mixture of Artifice and Force.

All the World knows that the best Part of *America* belongs to the *Spaniards*. But their Administration there is very imprudent, and such as in Time may subvert their Dominion in that Part of the World. Within about a Century past the *English* have made very profitable Establishments there. They have alone, at this Day, more Ships in *America*, and more Ships of their own building there, than all other Nations put together. They carry on a Trade in all Sort of Commodities from all the Countries of *Europe*; they deal even in those of *France*, cheaper, and sell them in better Condi-
tion

tion than the *French* themselves. Sir *William Temple*, in his *Considerations of the State of the United Provinces*, observes, That, in his Time, more Ships sailed from the Ports of *Holland*, than from those of all *Europe* besides. Things are much changed since then. The *English* have at present the Superiority of the Sea, the Empire of which they openly claim.

In regard to the *French*, they have, for some Ages, carried on a Commerce beyond the Bounds of *Europe*. Even before *Christopher Columbus* set Foot in the Island of *Guanahami*, one of the *Lucayes*, and the first of his Conquests in *America*, *John de Bethencourt*, Chamberlain to *Charles VI.* and Cousin to the Admiral of *France*, had already reduced under his Power the *Canaries*, where he caused the Title of King to be given him, with the Permission of the Holy See.

Encouraged by this Example, the richest Merchants of *Normandy* made Expeditions to the Coast of *Africa*, where they established Factories and Magazines, which subsist at this Day, in nearly their original Condition. On the other Side, the rapid Success of the *Spaniards* in *America* made too much Noise, not to excite the Jealousy and Emulation of the *French*. Several Gentlemen, without Employments, and without Occupations, in the Maritime Provinces, fitted out Privateers to cruise upon the *Spaniards*; which they did with great Success, and thereby gained vast Riches. Others, still bolder, attempted new Discoveries, principally in *North America*. But the Colonies they founded, without a sufficient Power to support them, have suffered exceedingly, as well by the *Savages*, whose Bravery is exerted in treacherous Surprises, as thro' the Negligence of *France*, in not sending them timely Succours. Some few of these Colonies still subsist in the Hands of the *French*; the rest are

fallen into those of the *English*, who are too wise and too powerful to suffer any of their Settlements to be ravished from them.

The *French* Commerce has suffered not a little by being put into the Hands of exclusive Companies. All such restrictive Combinations have three essential Faults: The first is, that they are too eager to reap before they have well sown; they are so much in Haste for present Gain, that they neglect or destroy the surest Means of future Advantage; they have not Patience to bear with the Delays and Disappointments that often attend new Settlements.

A second Fault is, that, for their particular Profit, they frequently import greater Quantities of Goods from abroad, than the Kingdom is able to consume, which is the sure Way to spoil all Trade.

The greatest Fault of all is this, that the private Advantages of such Companies incline them, generally speaking, to sacrifice all Concern for the public Welfare, and the Balance of Trade with Respect to the Nation. Such as are placed at the Head of them, not so much on Account of their Abilities, as by the Means of their Interest and Intrigues, entrust not only the first Employments in their Colonies, but likewise the Command of their Vessels, to their Relations and Dependants, and too often to such as engage their Favour by Bribery.

Things are upon a better Footing in *France*, with reference to this Point, than they were formerly. That which, at this Day, they call *the Company of the Indies*, has swallowed up all the rest, which were fallen into a languishing State, and were even almost extinct, at the Death of *Lewis XIV.* They had no longer Stock, Ships, or Reputation left; and all that Spirit and Vigour, upon which the Success of great Undertakings so much depends, was entirely lost. The new Company
seems

seems to be the reverse of what the others were in these Particulars, and to be fixed on solid Foundations. Yet, after all, there are some Circumstances in its Conduct, which, if not rectified, may, not very improbably, be attended, one Day or other, with the same Inconveniencies that reduced the others to a Dissolution.

All that has been hitherto said, in relation to Naval Power and Commerce, is intended to convince us of their Utility and Advantages. But as Examples are more affecting than the strongest Arguments, we will produce a few of those for the Inforcement of the other. One sees to what Power and Authority certain Cities are risen, through their Commerce by Sea. One sees that, in the Places where this is carried on with Spirit, all Things abound, Wealth, Neatness, Conveniencies, and Delights.

The ancient *Alexandria* was a most illustrious Instance of this. Nothing, as *Strabo* witnesses, equalled her in Splendor and Magnificence, in the Conveniency of her Port, the Beauty of the Houses, or the Number of her Inhabitants. All the Riches of *Asia* and *Africa* were brought thither by the *Red Sea* and the *Nile*, so that her Store-Houses and Magazines were crowded; all *Europe* had need of her Merchandize, and went thither to fetch it at exorbitant Prices. The *Ptolemies* were happily convinced of the vast Benefit of this Port; and the second of these Princes, surnamed *Philadelphus*, by means of it, swelled his Revenues to near 9,000,000 of Gold. The *Romans* made still more of this Commerce, when, after the Defeat of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, they became absolute Masters of *Egypt*. The Abundance and Fertility of that noble Country, especially in all Sorts of Grain, made them regard it as the Magazine of *Italy*.

It is inconceivable what a Number of Ships were employed by them in the Corn-Trade; they were continually going and returning between *Ostia* and the *Egyptian* Port, in Squadrons, consisting generally of fourscore or an hundred Vessels. *Pliny* tells us, that tho' the Expences of equipping, and arming these Ships for Defence, were very high, yet the Adventurers gained by each Voyage *Cent. per Cent.*

The Kings of *Egypt* were so good Judges of Trade, and such Patrons of it, that they never loaded it with odious Exactions, were satisfied with easy Duties, and never granted what the *English* call *Monopolies*; which are, in Truth, Privileges to particular Persons, to prejudice the Public with Impunity. All the Strangers who resided at *Alexandria* had their separate Quarter, where they enjoyed their Civil Rites, were indulged in their Customs, and the free Exercise of their Religion, provided there was nothing in either incommodious to the Peace of the Community. By these happy Regulations, *Alexandria* became the Habitation of all Nations, and, as it were, the Country of Mankind.

About the Middle of the thirteenth Century, there was formed a Confederacy of several Maritime Cities, or, at least, Cities not far from the Sea, under the Title of the *German Hanse*. This Confederacy solely regarded Commerce, which they endeavoured by all due Methods to promote and extend.

Though the Cities of *Germany* held the principal Rank in the *Teutonic Hanse*, that, notwithstanding, associated many other Cities, as well in *France* as in *England* and the *Low-Countries*; the whole, however, without any Detriment to the Rights of the Sovereigns on whom they respectively depended. This Confederacy had its Laws and Ordinances, which were as sacredly observed as the Maritime Code

Code of the *Rhodians*, whose Constitutions were adopted by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who regarded them as their Masters in Naval Affairs.

The *Teutonic Hanse* grew, in a short Time, to so high a Pitch of Power and Authority, by the immense Riches it acquired, that Princes themselves paid it a sort of Homage. Those of the North especially had frequent Occasion for the Assistance of this opulent Body, and borrowed thereof considerable Sums. The Grand Masters of the *Teutonic* Order, who were, at that Time, Sovereigns of *Livonia*, declared themselves Conservators of the Rights and Privileges of the *Hanse*. *Germany* looked on it with the same Eyes as a curious Gardener does on certain rare Plants, tho' of his own raising and cultivating. The Kings of *France* granted also various Privileges to the *Teutonic* Confederacy; they exempted their Vessels, in case of Shipwreck, from all Demands whatever from the Admiralty, or from private Persons; they forbade any Disturbance to their Navigation at all Times, and even when *France* was at War with the Emperor, or the Northern Potentates. In fine, during the Course of those unhappy Wars, which were stiled *Croisades*, the *Hanse* was greatly depended on, and always afforded powerful Succours in Money and Ships, to the Christians oppressed by Infidels.

It is astonishing, that Cities so remote from each other, subject to different Kings, sometimes in open War, and always jealous of their respective Rights, should be able to confederate, and preserve between them so strict a Union. They supported equally their common Losses, and, in like manner, their Profits were equally divided. But, at last, the *Teutonic Hanse* fell by little and little, and out of its Ruins rose almost all the Trading Companies that are at this Day throughout *Europe*. There are yet indeed
some

Some Cities in *Germany* that are stiled *Hanse-Towns*; but they have separate Interests, and the old Union remains no longer amongst them.

Before the *Portuguese* had found the Passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, all the Commerce between *Europe* and *Turky*, *Persia*, *Tartary*, *China*, and the *East-Indies*, was carried on solely by *Venice*, which was the common Magazine to them all. This it was that render'd that City so potent, and so insolent towards all her Neighbours. Fired with Resentment, they long threatened to revenge themselves, and they at length agreed to attack her all at once, and on all Sides. She, on the other hand, defended herself alone, and by her own proper Force, against the Empire, the Pope, the Kings of *France* and *Arragon*, and almost all the Princes of *Italy*, who had sworn her Ruin. But since the Navigation to the *Indies* has been opened, and People have dared to traverse those vast Seas, the *Venetian* Power has been exceedingly impaired. But her Prudence, her Address, her Policy, her Foresight and Caution still remain, which enable her to surmount the greatest Obstacles, and support herself, tho' less rich, in as great Dignity as ever.

Amsterdam seems, at this Day, to have succeeded *Alexandria* and *Venice*, in the Extent of its Commerce. Tho' it produces nothing of its own proper Growth, and possesses hardly any natural Advantages, yet Industry supplies not only whatever is wanting, but whatever can be wished for. There is not, in the whole World, a City richer, or more abundant. There are no Productions of Nature, no Works of Art, no Merchandize of any Country whatsoever, no Drugs proper either for Medicine or Dying, no Singularities of Physic or Chymistry; not so much as those curious Trifles which whimsical People are fond of, but what are to be met with in its Magazines. And so far is every one
from

from having there a Right to what Price he pleases, that, on the contrary, all are obliged to sell according to a general Tariff, which fixes the Price of every Commodity pretty near its real Value.

I will add here one of the Wonders of *Amsterdam*, which is this, “ that, even in the Bosom of
 “ Opulence, Luxury is a thing unknown ; I mean
 “ that sort of Luxury, which consists in braving our
 “ Fellow Citizens, by dazling their Eyes with a
 “ vain Ostentation of Riches ill employed. Mag-
 “ nificence is there reserved for the public Build-
 “ ings, a private Man is content if his Dwelling
 “ be agreeable and commodious. The Magistrates
 “ have there no swelling Train to set off their Au-
 “ thority, but take Care to distinguish themselves
 “ by their Probity. The Father has never the
 “ foolish Pride of placing his Sons in such Rank
 “ as they shall scarce deign to own him for their
 “ Parent. In a word, no body blushes there, at
 “ his being in the same Condition and of the same
 “ Trade with his Ancestors. Hence it is, that their
 “ Alliances, Correspondencies, Secrets, and their
 “ solid Fortunes, are perpetuated ; and Commerce,
 “ as it raised Families, continues to support them,
 “ if it does not raise them still higher by an Aug-
 “ mentation of their Riches.”

But that which ought to be regarded as the Perfection of Art, and as the greatest Wonder of its kind, is the City of *Ormus*, built in the Entrance of the *Persic Gulph*. Neither Fountain or River is in its Neighbourhood, to fertilize the Country, or give Drink to the Inhabitants, neither grow there any Trees capable of affording any Shade, or defending from the Inclemency of the Weather ; there the Soil appears to be no other than a Heap of Salt and Sulphur, with which the Air is impregnated, and render'd thereby excessively acrid and injurious to Health ; in one word, all things are parched

parched there with continual Burning, and, which is still worse, there is nothing either to temper this excess of Heat, or to defend one from it. Yet, with all these Inconveniencies, this City is one of the most opulent, and one of the most delicious Places in the World, and is, in a manner, the Centre of those Pleasures which the *Asiatic* Taste and a warm Climate render but too poignant. All this can be owing to nothing but its Situation, which renders it the Magazine and common Asylum of all the Eastern Merchants. They come there at certain Seasons of the Year, with their Factors and other Servants, as well to make up their old Accounts, as to enter into new Contracts. At these Times, the City, as it were, entirely changes her Face, all the Streets are covered with Tents impenetrable to the Sun, the outsides of the Houses are adorned with Cabinets of China, and beautiful Paintings, so that the Eye is delighted wherever it turneth. Camels arrive continually laden with fresh Water, and Provisions for the Table, with all the Refinements of good Chear, and all the Delicacies of the East collected for this Purpose.

These are the Instances our Author has offered to confirm his Reasonings, and these bring him to the close of this Work, which ends with some Reflections on the *French*, for their Neglect of so beneficial a Thing as he has proved Trade to be, and indulging that Pride and Love of Pleasures and Gaiety which are incompatible with a due Application thereunto. His Words are as follow, and I transcribe them for the Sake of the *English*, who are not altogether irreprehensible on the like Accounts.

“ Strangers (says he) know not only better than
 “ we the principal Productions of the Kingdom,
 “ but they know also the Methods of improving
 “ them beyond what we our selves can, so that
 “ they

“ they frequently send us back our own Commo-
“ dities, bettered by their Manufacture; and what
“ ought to surprise us most is, that, thus disguised,
“ they acquire a new Merit even in our own Eyes.
“ The *French* in general are wanting to themselves:
“ They are pleased only by polite Arts, such as
“ gratify at once their Indolence and their Love
“ of Pleasure. As to the rest, they neither profit
“ by the fertility, of the Soil, the abundance of their
“ Mines, the vast Extent of their Forests, or the
“ Facility with which Canals might be drawn, so
“ as to unite the different Rivers that water the
“ Country. But that in which we seem to be most
“ shamefully wanting to ourselves is the Choice of
“ Men, in distinguishing their Talents and Dispo-
“ sitions, and in applying them to those Employ-
“ ments for which they are best suited. *All FRANCE*
“ [*All ENGLAND*] swarms, and is every where
“ over-run with idle People; and this Idleness is
“ every Day the Source of the greatest Excesses.
“ Besides, Money is the sole thing that now moves or
“ can compass any thing; without that there is no ob-
“ taining a Place of any Distinction; and one must
“ be content to languish in Obscurity, if one has not
“ wherewith to purchase a Post in the Army, in
“ the Law, or even in the Court itself. Hence it
“ is, that those that occupy the greatest Posts become
“ them so ill, and appear at once great and little in
“ the Eyes of the People: But when these Posts
“ become vacant, there is a mighty Stir about filling
“ them; and at last, the Publick is always surprised
“ to see Folks jump into them, who were never thought
“ of as qualified.”

A R T I C L E I I.

A Vindication of the Histories of the Old Testament from the Misrepresentations and Calumnies of the late Tho. Morgan, M. D. in his Moral Philosopher. By SAM. CHANDLER. Part II. Pages 354. Printed for J. Noon, in Cheapside, 1743.

THIS part contains a defence of the character of *Joseph*, a person, in whose favour one would think every body must be strongly prepos'd, that reads the history of him as related by the sacred historian. "The occurrences of his life
 "are so very peculiar, the extraordinary providences that attend him so remarkable, the moderation and equity of his conduct so apparent, throughout the whole of his behaviour, as that
 "no one of humanity can help sharing with him in his misfortunes, taking pleasure in his prosperity, and admiring the life and character of a
 "person, who seem'd *the favourite* both of God and man. And were there any circumstances in
 "his history, that at first view appear'd inconsistent with the general probity of his character;
 "humanity and charity would gladly find out somewhat to soften and extenuate them; and
 "either wholly pass them over in silence, or mention them with the greatest tenderness, as
 "instances of the frailty of human nature in general, and to shew that the most exalted characters have their allays and blemishes; rather
 "than with a design wholly to destroy and blast him, and sink him down, with all his virtues,
 "under eternal infamy and abhorrence." —
 Yet, such was the malevolence of poor Dr. *Morgan's*

gan's heart, (for, tho' there is a perplexity in his writings, he does not appear to have been distracted) that he has unhappily acted this part ; under colour, too, of taking his account of him from the holy writer.

The account, he has given of him, is as follows :

“ *Joseph was an Hebrew slave, a young politi-*
 “ *cian : who had always fortune on his side : who,*
 “ *early, discovered his enterprising genius and as-*
 “ *piring temper : whose boundless ambition, and*
 “ *thirst of wealth and dominion, incurred the dis-*
 “ *pleasure of his brethren, and made him insuffer-*
 “ *able in his father's house, but yet who provi-*
 “ *dentially succeeded as a bold adventurer for*
 “ *wealth and dominion : who, tho' he refused the*
 “ *amorous solicitations of his mistress, and was*
 “ *imprison'd on that account, yet seems to have*
 “ *made up matters with his old mistress, even in*
 “ *his imprisonment : who, whilst in jail, discovered*
 “ *such an enterprising genius and vast ambition,*
 “ *shewed himself such a politician and ambitious*
 “ *enterpriser, as that one of Pharaoh's chief offi-*
 “ *cers, whose deliverance and restoration to the*
 “ *royal favour he foretold, dreaded the consequences*
 “ *of bringing him to court, and feared the effects*
 “ *of his ingratiating himself with the king : who,*
 “ *having the whole power, force, and dominion of*
 “ *Egypt put into his hands, fortified and garrison'd*
 “ *the towns and cities of the kingdom, because he*
 “ *found that this was necessary to enslave it : who,*
 “ *having thus made himself master of Egypt,*
 “ *brought down his father and brethren thither,*
 “ *and disposed amongst them the chief places of*
 “ *power and profit in that rich and populous Coun-*
 “ *try, and made them governors and rulers there-*
 “ *in : who exhausted the Egyptians of all their*
 “ *money, their live stock, all their lands, and,*
 “ *having stripped them of all their property and*
 D possession,

“ possession, made them eternal slaves and vassals
 “ to *Pharaoh*, and, as a great aggravation of their
 “ misery, banished them in their own country,
 “ after he had thus impoverished and plundered
 “ them, and who made them so wretched, as that
 “ it was impossible to reduce them lower, or make
 “ them more miserable: who, as the great task-
 “ master of the *Egyptians*, engrossed and monopo-
 “ lized all their corn, and thereby lengthned out a
 “ destructive famine in the land, being resolved to
 “ give out no more of it than what might be just
 “ necessary to support life from hand to mouth,
 “ till he had perfectly enslaved the people, and
 “ made himself master of the country: who made
 “ the priesthood in *Egypt* hereditary and indepen-
 “ dent of the crown, and the church-lands un-
 “ alienable and irrefumable by the crown, by an
 “ irreverfible decree, and laid the foundation of
 “ all the fuperftition in *Egypt*, and of the vaft
 “ power and influence of the priefts there in after-
 “ ages: in a word, who ruined *Egypt*, and re-
 “ duced the fineft, richeft, freeft country, then in
 “ the world, to a ftate of misery, poverty, and
 “ vaffalage, and entirely overthrew that free
 “ constitution, and introduced fuch an abfolute
 “ power, both in church and ftate, as had never
 “ been known in the world before: who buried his
 “ father with greater funeral pomp, and magnifi-
 “ cent mourning, than had ever been known in
 “ *Egypt*, even for the beft of their kings, and yet
 “ at laft himfelf died obfcurely, and had a private
 “ interment, without any public notice taken of it.”

— This is the doctor’s character of *Joseph*, with-
 out mentioning one fingle virtue, either of private
 or public life, belonging to him. On the contrary,

The facred hiftorian (whom he pretends to keep
 clofe to) *ſpeaks of him* with the higheft honour;
 “ as a perſon greatly in the favour of God, and
 “ pro-

“ prospered by him wherever he went, even in so
 “ extraordinary a manner, as to become the observa-
 “ tion of others ; as one of the strictest fidelity in
 “ every trust committed to him, of the most ex-
 “ emplary chastity and honour, that no sollicitati-
 “ ons could overcome, of the most fixed reverence
 “ for God in the midst of all the corruptions of an
 “ idolatrous court and kingdom, of the noblest
 “ resolution and fortitude, that the strongest temp-
 “ tations could never subdue ; of the most admi-
 “ rable sagacity and wisdom, prudence and discre-
 “ tion, that made even a prince and his nobles
 “ look upon him as under divine inspiration ; of
 “ that indefatigable industry and diligence, as made
 “ him successful in the most arduous attempts ; of
 “ the most generous compassion and forgiveness of
 “ spirit, that the most malicious and cruel injuries
 “ could never weaken or destroy ; as the preserver
 “ of *Egypt* and the neighbouring nations, and as
 “ the stay and support of his own father and fa-
 “ mily ; as one patient and humble in adversity,
 “ moderate in the use of power and the height of
 “ prosperity, faithful as a servant, dutiful as a son,
 “ affectionate as a brother, just and generous as a
 “ prince and ruler ; in a word, as one of the best
 “ and most finished character, and as an instance
 “ of the most exemplary and prosperous piety and
 “ virtue.”—And, agreeably to this account of the
 sacred penman, he is spoken of with the greatest
 respect by other writers, who cannot be supposed to
 have had any particular attachment to the *Jewish*
 nation.—And it is worthy of observation, that
 “ *Manetho*, (ap. *Josepb. contr. Apion.* 1. 26.) who
 “ was himself an *Egyptian* priest, and wrote of the
 “ *Egyptian* affairs, and pretended to take his his-
 “ tory from the sacred books of the *Egyptians*,
 “ tho’ he reproaches the *Jews* as infected with the
 “ leprosy, and charges them with destroying the

“ cities of *Egypt*, burning their temples, and murdering their horsemen, and that they abstained from no kind of wickedness and cruelty ; and tho’ he speaks contemptuously of *Moses*, as infected with the leprosy, an *Heliopolitan* by birth, and says, that he was first called *Osarsiph*, from the *Heliopolitan Osiris*, and afterwards changed his name into *Moses* ; yet he makes no mention of *Joseph*, nor hath the least syllable to alledge against him.” — And in like manner, “ *Apion*, against whom *Josephus* wrote, who was an *Egyptian* by original, and wrote of the affairs of *Egypt*, though his invention supplied him with many slanders against *Moses* and the *Jews* ; yet leaves the character of *Joseph* untouch’d, without one single calumny to affect him.”

That *this is the true character of Joseph*, must (I think) appear to every one, who reads his history with that humble disposition and friendly spirit, which ought to guide all persons in the judgment they form of others. But Mr. *Chandler*, out of the great goodness of his heart, (both to the dead, who have been wrong’d, and to the living, who might be misled) has made out every thing relating hereto, with that depth of learning, and strength of judgment, and happiness of stile, that it is impossible for even the most unbenevolent and abandon’d free-thinker, that reads him with attention, to resist the evidence of what he advances.

All the exception that, I apprehend, can be made against his manner, is, that he frequently intermixes with his arguments a good deal of resentment on the weakness and wickedness of his antagonist : but, as that common reviler, in the characters he gives of the scripture-heroes, converts every thing to gall and bitterness, says not a word of their virtues, gives the most invidious turns to dubious passages, perverts the plainest that have any thing in their favour, racks his
invention

invention for matter of defamation, and that, too, contrary to the fairest evidence of all history, both sacred and profane, and without ever discovering the least remorse for the mischief he is doing; one would think there can hardly be any, but must be pleased that Mr. *Chandler*, while he is vindicating the memories of the dead worthies, takes occasion to execute justice on the wretch, who had the heart to draw satisfaction and a livelihood from an employment so inhuman as that of traducing the greatest personages in the records of holy writ, apparently with a view of deriving a reproach on the Old Testament-dispensation, and begetting in people's minds a despicable idea of what we call the word of God.

For my part, tho' I am saturnine enough to dislike any thing personal in controversy, I cannot but own that I look upon Mr. *Chandler's* reflexions of this nature (so reasonably are they made, and so genteely express'd) as a very agreeable seasoning to his work, that gives a relish to the entertainment, and even force to his argument. Nor do I remember any thing so poignant and persuasive in any of our polemical writers, unless it be in *Andrew Marvel's Rehearsal*, &c. and Mr. *Alsop's Melius Inquirendum*.

This Article was sent to us by an unknown Hand.

A R T I C L E I I I .

There hath lately been publish'd in Octavo, Price 3 s. stitch'd, The Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, as delivered in the Scriptures ; being an Answer to a late Treatise, entitled, Christianity not founded on Argument. The Answer is in Three Parts. Part I. contains the Arguments for the Truth of the Christian Religion. Part II. the Answers to the Difficulties and Objections proposed by the Author of Christianity not founded on Argument. Part III. an Interpretation of the Texts which that Author has perverted. By GEORGE BENSON. London : Printed for J. Noon, at the White Hart in Cheapside.

IT is now said, by some, that the Author of *Christianity not founded on Argument* is a Jesuit. Whatever he be, Mr. Benson has not meddled with his Person, but attack'd his Arguments. In the *Preface*, he has shewn the various Shapes in which that Author appears, and the various Characters he has assumed, in writing against rational Christianity ; and that there are thrown out some Insinuations, which seem to bear hard upon *natural Religion*.

This Answer is writ by way of Dialogue, to state the Objections, and introduce the proper Answers to them, with greater Ease, and to make the Performance more entertaining.

As *this Treatise* was designed for a more general Use, than merely to answer *Christianity not founded on Argument*, in the *first Part* there is a summary Account of the positive Evidences of the Truth of the Christian Religion ; — that the Reader may see
what

what a Variety of Arguments may be alledged, and to what a considerable Number and Force they amount; — the Doctrines and Precepts of Christianity are all reasonable, and the Argument is remarkably strong from Prophecy, from Miracles, from the Resurrection of Christ, and from the most plentiful Effusion of the Spirit, consequent to Christ's Resurrection and Ascension.

The plain Inferences from all which are these, *viz.* That *Christianity is founded on Argument*; and that the Spread of Christianity, when attended with such abundant Evidence, was the very Event one would have expected; and that these Things afford us an easy, rational, and satisfactory Account of the speedy Progress of the Gospel, notwithstanding the fierce Opposition made to it by tyrannical Princes, Superstitions, bigotted or designing Priests, and ignorant, prejudiced, and vicious Men. — Whereas the Infidels are forced to acknowledge such an Effect, without being able to assign any sufficient Cause, or to give any Account of the Matter, but what is purely imaginary, or the Fruit of their own Invention.

When the positive Evidence of the Truth of Christianity arises so high, — it is not alledging some few Difficulties from some particular Texts (which may not perhaps be generally understood): But the *Deists* should consider who have the most and the strongest Arguments, and ought to determine according to the superior Evidence.

The Author of *Christianity not founded on Argument* had drawn several *Objections against rational Faith*; — from the Uncertainty of Reason; — from our being required to think all alike; — from the Assertion of some, *that Reason has nothing to do in Matters of Faith*; — from the Impossibility of Children's being baptized into a rational Religion; — from the Prejudices of Education; — from Mens being

obliged to believe, before they can understand ; — from the Sufficiency of natural Religion ; — from our being obliged to pray, *Lord, increase our Faith* ; — from Miracles having been perform'd, Time out of Mind, in Favour of false Doctrines as well as true ; — from Miracles being nothing but the natural Effects of Gospel-Benevolence ; — from the thirty thousand various Readings of the New Testament collected by Dr. *Mills* ; — from our having only the Testimony of Friends to the Truth of Christianity ; — from the lettered World's treating Christianity with Contempt ; — from the Assertions of some great Men, who have represented *Reason* and *Christianity* as utterly repugnant to one another ; — from the Behaviour of some Divines, who have not treated Religion as a rational Thing ; — from the Civil Magistrate's establishing Religion by the Power of the Sword ; — and, finally, from the common People's being unable to reason or judge at all in Matters of Religion. — All these various Objections are particularly answer'd in Part II.

The Third and last Part of Mr. *Benson's Answer* is taken up in explaining those Texts which his Antagonist had perverted and grossly abused. And, tho' the Author of *Christianity not founded on Argument* seems to have been conscious of his having misapplied many of them, and to have laid no great Stress upon his own Interpretations ; yet, unto some well-meaning Persons, the clearing such Texts from the false Glosses he would put upon them, and the absurd Consequences he, and others, would draw from them, must be of considerable Service. The various Readings are accounted for, and the Genuineness and Purity of the Books of the New Testament plainly proved : And, “ if the History
“ be true, *Christianity* must unquestionably be
“ true”

Whether

Whether the Author of *Christianity not founded on Argument* will acknowledge it, or no, many look upon this as not only a full and sufficient Answer to his Treatise, but a fair Defence of rational Christianity in general; and as such we recommend it to our Readers.

Mr. BENSON has also just published, A brief Account of Calvin's burning Servetus for an Heretic. The Second Edition, corrected, and somewhat enlarged. Price 4d.

THIS View is to condemn all Kinds and Degrees of Persecution, where, or in whomsoever found. I will give my Reader one Extract, as a Proof of this, and as a Specimen of that Performance.

“ When *Servetus* was thus treated, it was a common Thing to burn the *Protestants* in *France*.
 “ That very Year many of them suffered Death,
 “ that the *Papish Religion* might be defended against
 “ the Progress of the Reformed.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum !

“ An historical Commentary on these *Latin Words*
 “ would be a very curious Work, and an admirable Antidote against *Persecution*. *Cruelty* is the
 “ distinguishing Character of the *Church of Rome* !
 “ Surely *Protestants*, who have so often and so severely felt the dreadful Effects of that violent
 “ Spirit, and bitter Zeal for Religion; — those who
 “ have themselves come out of *that great Tribulation*, should think themselves, in a more peculiar Manner, obliged to express their Abhorrence
 “ of *Persecution*, upon all Occasions, and in every
 “ Kind and Degree.

“ But

“ But it must be owned, in Behalf of *those per-*
 “ *secuting Protestants*, about the Time of the Re-
 “ *formation*, that their *Spirit of Persecution* was a
 “ Remainder of *Popery*; — a pernicious Error,
 “ which they had imbibed in *the Church of Rome* !
 “ She is in a great measure answerable for the Exe-
 “ cution of *Servetus*. If the *Roman-Catholics* had
 “ never put any body to Death, on Account of
 “ Religion, I am apt to believe, that *Servetus*
 “ would not then have been condemn’d in a Pro-
 “ testant City. *Calvin*, and all the Magistrates of
 “ *Geneva*, in the Year 1553, were born and bred
 “ up in the *Church of Rome*. This is the best
 “ Apology that can be made for them; for the
 “ Thing itself is by no Means to be vindicated; —
 “ tho’ most Parties, when in Power, have shewn
 “ too much Inclination to *persecute*, in some De-
 “ gree, those who could not think just as they did.
 “ When will this unchristian Spirit entirely cease;
 “ and Persons in Power acknowledge Liberty to be
 “ the *natural Right* of those who differ from them,
 “ and of all Mankind ! — as freely and as heartily
 “ as they would claim it for themselves, were they
 “ the Minority, and wanted that Indulgence which
 “ they are commonly so loth to grant to others.”

*This Article was likewise sent us by an unknown
 Hand.*

A R T I C L E IV.

The Resurrection of Jesus considered; in Answer to the Trial of the Witnesses.

THE Author of this Discourse styles himself, in the Title-Page, a *Moral Philosopher*. In a very short Preface, he assures us, that he is here in Quest of Truth, and that if he strays from it, he desires to be directed to the right Path. He would have Scripture and Reason decide the Controversy.

And as he is in this good Disposition with relation to his Cause, so he is very kind to his Readers: For, to prevent their having much Trouble in turning over their Testaments, to look out the Texts, in order to their comparing the Accounts of the Resurrection, and judging of the Merit of his Observations thereon, he has placed together, at the Beginning of this Work, what the Gospel-Historians have delivered upon that Head, in their own Words.

His Quotations relate, First, *To the Appearance of Jesus Christ to Mary Magdalene*; for the History of which he cites the ten first Verses of the twenty-eighth Chapter of St. *Matthew*; the eleven first Verses of the sixteenth of St. *Mark*; the eighteen first Verses of the twentieth of St. *John*; and the twelve first Verses of the twenty-fourth of St. *Luke*. Secondly, *To Christ's Appearance to two Disciples*; concerning which he cites from the thirteenth to the thirty-fifth, both inclusive, of the twenty fourth of St. *Luke's* Gospel; and the twelfth and thirteenth Verses of the sixteenth of St. *Mark*. Thirdly, *To the Appearance of Jesus to all the Apostles*; with reference to which he cites the sixteenth and four following Verses of the twenty eighth of St. *Matthew*; the fourteenth and six following Verses

Verſes of the ſixteenth of *St. Mark*; from the thirty-fixth to the fifty third, both incluſive, of the twenty-fourth of *St. Luke*; and the nineteenth and four enſuing Verſes of the twentieth of *St. John*. *Another Appearance*, *John* relates in the fix ſubſequent Verſes of the ſame twentieth Chapter. He tells us likewiſe of an Appearance of Jeſus after this, to ſeven Diſciples, at the Sea of *Tiberias*, where he wrought a Miracle in catching Fiſh, and dined with them; confirmed *Peter* in his Love, and bade him follow him, but whither is not ſaid. Further, the Appearance of Jeſus to all the Diſciples is ſpoken of, *Acts* i. from the firſt to the ninth Verſe, both incluſive; *1 Corinthians*, Chap. xv. from the third Verſe to the eighth, both incluſive.

All theſe Paſſages of Scripture our Author has ſet down at Length, in the Order I have here named them.

In the Proſecution of his Subject he conſiders,
First, Of the Reaſonableneſs of examining it.

Secondly, Of ſome Things mentioned by the Author of the *Trial of the Witneſſes*, that precede the Subject of the Reſurrection.

Thirdly, Of what is ſaid concerning the Reſurrection of Jeſus by the Author of the *Trial of the Witneſſes*, and by the Witneſſes themſelves.

In treating theſe ſeveral Points, our Author has not been ſparing of his Words, but ſeems rather to have loaded his Reaſoning therewith: His Sentiments would have ſuffered no Damage by thoſe being fewer; and would certainly have appeared with greater Advantage, if his Language had been more correct, his Periods a little better turn'd, and his Pointing more exact. The Force of his Arguments is, I think, compris'd in the following Paragraphs.*

* I have here and there altered the Author's Pointing, where it was evidently wrong.

The first Thing he considers is the Reasonableness of examining the Subject now before us. And here he says,

The Resurrection of Jesus being made an important Article of Faith, becomes an Affair of Importance, therefore the Examination with much Care and Caution seems highly necessary. Those that think there is no need of it, cannot tell what need there is, without examining. Those that think it is of Importance must certainly own 'tis worth the Scrutiny. If it be not proper to be examined, it must be either because it is not worthy of it, or will not bear it, which is saying that it is not true : But how is this known without Inquiry ? Or, if it be alledged that it is not proper to be searched into, because it is a Mystery, then 'tis so, either of Godliness or of Iniquity ; for, according to Scripture, there are Mysteries in both ; and how do we know which of these it is, without examining ? Let us bring this Deed to the Light, that the Truth of it may appear. That Principle or Fact which cannot bear Reason and Examination cannot be true, for it flies the Face of Reason, which is Truth's Defender, and trembles at Examination, which Truth delights in. —

Can that be esteemed a fair Trial, where the Evidences are only on one Side of the Question, and must be admitted for Fact or Truth to both Parties, because the Defendants, to try their own Cause, admit none but their own Witnesses ? Perhaps, because it had been said by Mr. *Woolston*, That *'tis happy for us, that the very Account given by the pretended Witnesses of this Fact, is sufficient to destroy the Credit of it.* If so, those Books must be notoriously bad indeed that contradict themselves, and destroy their own Authority.

Is it not right for those who would examine the Truth of Things, to endeavour to hear both Parties ?

ties? Why not as well in this as in other Cases? Is it not as necessary, or will it not bear examining?

An History of an uncommon Kind should have more than common Proof, better Proof than is sufficient in ordinary Histories; that is, the Proofs given should be equal to the Things to be proved, and the more momentous the Affair is, or, according] to the Concern and Consequence of it, the more plain and certain the Evidence should be.

If the Resurrection be a Fraud, or the Evidence forged, what Books have we to prove them so? Must not the Discovery of Truth in such Case be attended with great Difficulty? Can it be expected, that an equitable Issue should be obtained from what may be fairly reason'd out of their own Reports? Such a Case no body in a Suit of Law would care to stand the Trial of, where it is well known beforehand that the Witnesses are all agreed to cast the Plaintiff, and, tho' his Cause be good, he can have no other. What Christians would care to have the Truth of the Gospel-History tried by the Books of their Adversaries, if any such existed? If they were allowed no other Way to prove the Resurrection of Jesus, but by the Books of the unbelieving Jews that were written to disprove it, what would they say? *How favourably then should Men think of that Cause, which, tho' attended with all these Difficulties, dares to venture such a Trial? And what, on the other hand, must the unprejudiced Part of Mankind think of that Cause, whose Evidence betrays itself to just Censure? **

In

* This is a *Coup d'Eclat*, a Contrast which no doubt our Author glories in. His Cause shall triumph against all Difficulties, and shall have the Testimony even of its Adversary's Witnesses; while his Opposers shall be cast upon their own Evidence. But what is his Cause? Is it not the meanest and wickedest in the World? What is it, but the Subversion of Christianity; an Institution the most honourable and the most friendly
to

In the second Place our Author considers of some Things mentioned by the Writer of the Trial, that precede the Subject of the Resurrection. From what he has offered to this Purpose the ensuing Passages are extracted.

The Writer of the Trial says, *Nothing can be more material than to shew a Fraud of this kind, [like that of the Resurrection of Jesus] that prevailed universally in the World.* Our Author answers, “ But the Belief of this Fact, whether it be “ a Fraud or not, has not yet prevailed universally “ in the World; and wherever it has prevailed, “ neither Fraud nor Force have been wanting to “ make it prevail.” The Trial insinuates the contrary, comparing it with the Story of *Mahomet*, which has gained great Credit, and been received by many Nations. *How was it received?* says the Trial. *Was not every Man converted to this Faith with the Sword at his Throat? In our Case, every Witness to the Resurrection, and every Believer of it was hourly exposed to Death, &c.* To this our Author replies, “ That the first Promulgators of Chri-

to Mankind that can be imagined? If this unhappy Man never saw the blessed Effects of it, in the Lives of its sincere Votaries, and, consequently, the inestimable Value of it, the Writer of this Note has been a Witness thereof, and hopes he shall ever retain a lively Sense of it: And while he does so, he cannot possibly favour its virulent Opposers. A candid Inquiry into the Grounds of it is every Man's Duty, to whom it is proposed; nor is any one obliged to give or declare his Assent thereto, if, after a due Scrutiny, he perceives not a sufficient Foundation; and to reproach or hurt any one on the Score of such a Conduct is extremely iniquitous. But, on the other hand, we may venture to affirm, that no Man can be of a good Disposition, who manifests an Antipathy to the Scripture Revelation. Certainly, the Bible does not deserve a more contemptuous or violent Treatment than those Books which make not the least Pretension to Divinity; and yet, a Man, who form'd a Judgment of it merely from the Behaviour of our Infidels, must imagine it to be the most pernicious Piece that ever was written. Is not their Aversion owing to the divine Characters that are so visibly stamped on it?

“ stianity

“ stianity did not establish [he should say, propa-
 “ gate] it by Force, till they had the Power, but
 “ when they were possessed of the Kingdom, the
 “ Sentence was, Those mine Enemies, who would
 “ not that I should reign over them, bring them
 “ hither and slay them before me.” And ever
 since, he tells us, Christians have exceeded the *Ma-*
hometans in Violence, Ten-fold. “ Wherever Chri-
 “ stianity has come, if it was not planted with
 “ Blood, it has been watered with it.” This is a
 direct Falshood, into which, I would hope, our
 Author was led by a Deficiency of Judgment: But
 it is the Error or the Fault of the whole Clan, to im-
 pute to Christianity, what is wholly owing to the cor-
 rupting of, or departing from, that most amiable
 Institution; which they weakly or wickedly reproach
 with being the Cause of that which it is the very
 Reverse of. Should Infidels ever obtain the Power
 of the Sword, the World would soon find they were
 no Enemies to penal Laws, or persecuting, how
 much soever they now abhor and exclaim against
 Persecution.

The Trial says, concerning the Difference between
 the Resurrection of Jesus and that of Dr. *Emmes*,
In one Case, every Thing happened that was proper
to convince the World of the Truth of the Resurrec-
tion, in the other the Event manifested the Cheat.
 Our Author replies, “ ’Tis strange, if every Thing
 “ happened as here said, that the World should be
 “ so far from being convinced of the Resurrection
 “ of Jesus, that the *Jews*, in particular, among
 “ whom this was done, or said to be done, were
 “ not convinced of it then, nor are they yet. —
 “ But every Thing did not happen, that was pro-
 “ per to convince the World, because the only
 “ Thing necessary did not happen, *viz.* the pub-
 “ lic Appearance of Jesus among the *Jews* after-
 “ wards, as before. Should we have said of Dr.
 “ *Emmes*,

“ *Emmes*, if his Body had been gone in the
 “ Night, and some of his Disciples had afterwards
 “ attested that he was risen from the Dead, and
 “ they had seen him alive, that every Thing hap-
 “ pened which was proper to convince the World
 “ of the Truth of it?”

The Trier says, That *Christ* was so far from en-
 couraging the Notions of the People, that their *Christ*
 was to be a victorious Prince, that it was his main
 Point to correct those Prejudices, and by this Means
 he fell into Disgrace with them, and suffered as one
 who in their Opinion destroyed the Law and the Pro-
 phets. Our Author denies the Justness of this Re-
 mark, and some others, which the Trier has made,
 to the same Purpose. And then he goes on as fol-
 lows:

“ That Jesus explained away the kingly Office
 “ of the Messiah, does no where appear. — The
 “ Evangelists say, that ’twas prophesied, Jesus should
 “ be King of *Israel*; the Wise-men inquired, Where
 “ he was who was born King of the *Jews*? The
 “ Angels declared, the Lord God would give unto
 “ him the Throne of his Father *David*, and that
 “ he should reign over the House of *Jacob* for
 “ ever; *Nathaniel* called him the King of *Israel*,
 “ so did the Multitude: Jesus was so far from re-
 “ buking them for it, that he justified them in it,
 “ and he was called the King of the *Jews*; it is
 “ true, he had not the Kingdom, therefore, when
 “ he was about to suffer for it, he found it was not
 “ of this World; tho’ this he never told his Dis-
 “ ciples. But as Jesus was not King of *Israel* in a
 “ natural Sense, he is made the King of the spiri-
 “ tual *Israel*, and because he was no external tem-
 “ poral King, he must be an internal and eternal
 “ one, to fulfil the Scripture. — This shews the
 “ Difficulties Men are reduced to, in explaining
 “ the Scriptures to serve their Purposes; that, when
 E plain

“ plain and obvious Sense fails to do it, — they
 “ betake themselves to the mean Refuge of Figures,
 “ Tropes, Allegories, and mystical Twisting the
 “ sacred Wax, to take the Impression of any Seal
 “ that is put upon it. It’s plain, that because Jesus
 “ had not taken the Kingdom before the Report of
 “ his Resurrection and Ascension, the Apostles said,
 “ that before that Generation was dead, he should
 “ come again, raise them that believed in him,
 “ reign over the *Jews*, and subdue the *Gentiles*.
 “ But the Time then mentioned for the literal Ac-
 “ complishment being elapsed, it is now high Time
 “ to understand it spiritually; or give it some my-
 “ stical Interpretation; that the Credit of the New
 “ Testament Prophecies, tho’ shipwreck’d in the
 “ Letter, may be saved in the Spirit.”*

It having been observed, by Infidels, that *all false Religions have pretended to Inspiration*, the Trier says, *This only shows that Revelation is by the common Consent of Mankind, the very best Foundation of Religion, and therefore every Impostor pretends to it.* Our Author conceives, “ That which
 “ is the *Foundation* of any, much less of every false
 “ Religion, cannot be the Foundation of the true.”
 And then he hurries over some beaten Topics, that have been frequently discuss’d by much abler Pens than his or mine.

But here again his distinguishing Faculty appears with no great Advantage. He should know, that it is not Inspiration which is the Foundation of any Religion, whether true or false. All Religions are founded on certain Doctrines or Precepts; Inspiration being not the Foundation even of these, but only the Means by which they are first made known.

* This Stile of Insult and Banter, the like to which appears every where throughout this Piece, is but ill becoming a Man who professes himself a candid Inquirer after Truth.

If all the Institutors of new Religions have pretended to Inspiration, and all Religions have been received in the World on that Pretence, it thereby indeed seems to have been the universal Sense of Mankind, that they had no sure Footing to go upon, in a Matter of such Consequence as Religion is, but the revealed Will of God. This is an Opinion that has till this Day prevailed with Thousands; but our Author, and other daring Adventurers of his Stamp, have not only rejected all Revelation, but are outrageous in their Resentments against those who are so foolish as to pay a Regard to any thing under that Character.

What now must a rational Inquirer think of this Quibble: *False Religions have been founded on Revelation; True Religion cannot have the same Foundation as the false; Therefore true Religion cannot be founded on Revelation.* Let this Author's Proposition be ever so true, what signifies his Conclusion, till it is made out, that some false Religion has been founded on real Revelation. His Conclusion, as he deduces it, implies, That Inspiration has been the Foundation of all false Religions; or that, because Impostors have pretended to be inspired, no Body in Truth ever was so; or that, because many Falsities have been imposed on the World as revealed Truths, there can be no Truths revealed by God at all.

But when all this is said, or plainly implied, then, to obviate the Charge of gross Absurdity, there comes in a palliating Clause, *viz.* That *pretended Inspiration*, (distinct from Religion founded on the eternal Attributes of the Deity, and the invariable Nature, Reason, and Fitness of Things,†) *subjects Man's Conduct to arbitrary Will, not known*

† Certain Phrases which many superficial Infidels have learnt to prattle, as intelligently as Parrots talk.

till revealed, nor even then, and ever liable to Alteration at Pleasure, yet never to be questioned. If our Author knows any that implicitly submit to any pretended Revelation, without examining its Conformity with the Nature and Reason of Things, let him censure their Folly; but let him not blend with these, those who receive the Christian Revelation after the strictest Scrutiny, and on the firmest Persuasion of its Agreement with the divine Perfections, and the Nature of Things. Let not our Author, in his mighty Wisdom, brand such as these (and many such there are) as Fools; nor let him treat those, who trust in it on no better Ground than the Command or Recommendation of others, with greater Contempt or Severity than those who insult and reject it without examining its Evidences at all: And such are often to be met with.

Having dispatched these Preliminaries, our Author proceeds to examine the Grand Point, concerning what is said in the *Trial of the Witnesses*, and by the Witnesses themselves, of the Resurrection of Jesus. Here I shall take Notice only of the principal Things he has offered.

The Trier grants, that *Jesus referred to the Authorities of the ancient Prophecies, to prove that he was to die and rise again*; he owns, likewise, that *tho' the ancient Books referred to are extant, no such Prophecies are to be found in them*; yet says, *it is not material to the present Question, whether these Prophecies are to be found or no.*

To this our Author answers, “He is not sure that
 “ Jesus did refer to the Authority of the ancient Pro-
 “ phecies to prove that He was to die and rise again;
 “ only that he reads so.†” Again, as to the Pro-

† At this Rate, he is not sure there was such a Person as *Lewis XIV of France*, unless he had the Honour to see that *Grand Monarch*: He is sure only that he has read and heard of him!

phesies refer'd to, by the Evangelists, but not found, which Disappointment the Trier makes light of, our Author says, " Strange! Is it not material whether
 " what these Evangelists say is true or false? —
 " Whether, through Ignorance, they imagined there
 " were Prophecies which were not, and so were
 " deluded; or, whether, through Design, they pre-
 " tended there was what there was not, to delude
 " others; or, whether there are not forged Inter-
 " polations crept into their Testimony, to set the
 " better Gloss on what is insinuated? Could not
 " they, who could report Prophecies which were
 " never delivered by the Prophets, report others,
 " as delivered by their Master, which he never ut-
 " tered; and write what they pleased of him, long
 " after his Departure? — If there be no Reason to
 " believe them in one Thing, may there not be just
 " Reason to question them in other Things? If
 " they are found guilty of asserting what there is
 " no Proof for, what Reason is there to believe
 " their Assertions, or to receive them as Proof?"

The Trier says, *Christ, by foretelling his Resurrection, certainly put the Proof of his Mission on the Truth of the Event.* Our Author joins Issue, and says, " If so, why was not that Truth proved to
 " the Satisfaction of those People to whom he was
 " sent? Why did he not appear to them after his
 " Resurrection, as the true Sign and Proof of his
 " Mission? If they ought to have had this Proof,
 " and had it not, what Ground has the Trier to
 " say, that *after his Death, no further Credentials*
 " *of Christ's Commission to the Jews could be de-*
 " *manded or expected?*"

The Trier says, that *Christ's foretelling his Resurrection, so publicly that his keenest Enemies were fully apprised of it, carried with it the greatest Mark of sincere Dealing; and that the Prediction of Christ concerning his own Resurrection, was a Thing pub-*

licly known to all Jerusalem, for it gave Occasion for all the Care that was taken to prevent Fraud.

Our Author is of a very different Opinion, and enters into a close Examination of this Matter of *Christ's foretelling his Resurrection*, and the rest. We have no other Way, he says, of proving this, but by the Evidence of the Witnesses. As to these,

1. *Matthew* says, that *the Chief Priests and Pharisees came unto Pilate, saying, Sir, WE REMEMBER that this Deceiver said, while he was yet alive, after three Days I will rise again.* Now, our Author observes, the Words *We remember*, signify, that they heard him say so. But he finds no Account, in any of the four Evangelists, where or when such public Prophecy was delivered before the Priests and Pharisees. *Matthew*, who being the only one that tells the Story of watching the Sepulchre and sealing the Stone, should, particularly, have given an Account of this public Prophecy, but does not: For our Author will not allow, that what we find in the 38th, 39th, and 40th Verses of the twelfth Chapter of his Gospel, are the Words referred to by the Chief Priests and Pharisees; at the same Time, there is no other Passage in that Evangelist, to which they can be supposed to have a Reference.

2. What *Luke* says, Chap. xi. 29, 30, seems to have been delivered at the same Time and on the same Occasion as the forementioned Passage of *Matthew*. But cannot, our Author imagines, be made a Prophecy of the Resurrection, by any who is not more a Prophet than he who spoke it, if he spoke no more than *Luke* has delivered. “Hence
“it may be questioned, whether *Luke* delivered
“the whole Truth, or *Matthew* nothing but the
“Truth.”

3. The Words, even as they are in *Matthew*, do not plainly indicate a Resurrection; — “Since
“Jesus

“ Jesus did not tell the *Jews* what he really meant
 “ by this Sign : For his Words no more predicate
 “ a Resurrection from the Dead, than that *Jonah*
 “ was dead the three Days and three Nights he was
 “ in the Belly of the Fish.”

There are other Passages in the Evangelists † that some might be apt to regard in the same Light as they have done the preceding ones ; but, upon Examination, our Author will no more allow them to be any proper Predictions of Christ's Resurrection, or to be those Predictions which the Scribes and Pharisees meant in their Address to *Pilate*, than he will the others. He afterwards says,

None of the Evangelists give any Account, that Jesus ever *publicly* declared, that *after three Days he would rise again* ; nor when, or where, he made any such Declaration, or any thing like it, that plainly predicted his Resurrection to the Priests, Scribes, Pharisees, or Sadduces. So that the Report wants Confirmation, even among the Evangelists themselves. And none of them mention the Explanation annexed to the Parable of *Jonah*, but *Matthew* once. However the Prophecy, as he has it, is false, in two Respects :

First, As to Time, the Prediction telling us, The Son of Man was to lie THREE DAYS AND THREE NIGHTS *in the Heart of the Earth*. Whereas Jesus lay but the Space of one Day and a half, that is two Nights and a Day, if he did that ; for 'tis not known when the Body was gone ; it could not be found at the End of the second Night. He was buried the Evening of the Preparation-Day, and was not in the Sepulchre, at the Dawning of the Day which followed the Preparation.

† John ii. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. Matt. xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4. Mark viii. 11, 12.

Secondly, This Prediction was not fulfilled; because the Sign promised to be given, was not given to those it was promised to. “ For if *no Sign was to be given to that* “ EVIL AND ADULTEROUS GENERATION, *but the Sign of Jonas the Prophet*, the only “ Sign of Jesus being the Messiah depended upon that “ Sign being given, or that Prophecy being fulfilled, “ to the Satisfaction of that *evil and adulterous Generation*. But unless Jesus appeared after his Resurrection to that *evil and adulterous Generation*, “ not to his Disciples only, then that Prophecy was “ not fulfilled at all, and so was false in Fact. Yet, “ ’tis not so much as said that any of that evil “ Generation saw him, only his Disciples and “ Friends, who were not that *evil Generation*, being *not of the World, but chosen out of it*.

Well, but according to three Evangelists, our Author finds, that Jesus had indeed five Times foretold his Disciples of his Resurrection, in the plainest Manner. For these Instances he quotes the undermentioned Places; † on which he now and then bestows a Remark, in order to point out the Absurdities that they abound with, in his Opinion.

As for St. *John*, the fourth Evangelist, he finds, upon Examination, that he says not a Word of Christ’s foretelling his Resurrection, but denies it all: And declares that the Disciples did not know any Prophecy that Jesus was to rise again. What else does these Words mean, *they knew not the Scriptures, that he must rise again from the dead*? If this be true, there

† *Matt.* xvi. 21. *Mark* viii. 31. Verse 27, of the same Chapter. *Luke* ix. 18, 22. This our Author supposes the three Evangelists intended for the first Time of this Prediction being delivered. The second Time is related, *Matt.* xvii. 9. *Mark* ix. 9, 10. A third Time, *Matt.* xvii. 22, 23. *Mark* ix. 30, 31, 32. *Luke* ix. 43, 44, 45. A fourth Time, *Matt.* xx. 17, 18, 19. *Mark* x. 32, 33. *Luke* xvii. 11. xviii. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35. A fifth Time, *Matt.* xxvi. 32. *Mark* xiv. 28.

is Reason to suspect, all the Predictions of it, in *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, to be Forgery. But this, he says, will more evidently appear, in

The second Period of Time, which reaches from the Death of Christ, to the Resurrection reported in the Evangelists. And here he proceeds thus,

What are we now to think of the Watch? "Can any
" Man of common Sense believe, that the Scribes
" and Pharisees should be alarmed about the Re-
" surrection of Jesus, if they never heard any more
" of it than what has been mentioned, and that the
" Disciples, to whom it is said to be plainly and re-
" peatedly foretold, should be such Mopes as to
" know nothing of the Matter.—That Jesus should
" so expressly foretel his Resurrection to his Disciples,
" and say nothing plainly of it to the Scribes and
" Pharisees, yet that these should be so alarmed
" with the Words of a Man they did not believe,
" as to watch for it, and the Disciples, on the con-
" trary, not understand or expect it." — But that
the Priests and Pharisees set no Watch, and that
even the Disciples themselves were not forewarned
of their Master's rising again, our Author says, will
more fully appear by the Facts which the Evan-
gelists themselves relate.

The Evangelists agree, that Jesus was laid in the
Sepulchre, wound in Linnen Clothes, with a great
Quantity of Spices, as the Manner of the Jews was.

" Suppose now the Priests and Pharisees went the
" next Day to set the Watch, as *Matthew* reports,
" did they not look into the Sepulchre to see if the
" Body was there? And if they did see it there, did
" they not see how it was prepared for keeping, if
" it be true that it was so prepared? And, being Wit-
" nesses thereof, would they not have taken the Sol-
" diers back with them, satisfied that the Disciples
" knew nothing of any Prophecy of his rising again,
" and therefore could have no Design, under that
E 5 " Pretence,

“ Pretence, to steal away the Body, and report he
 “ was risen? Or would they expose themselves to Ridi-
 “ cule by setting a Watch, and sealing the Sepulchre? ”

— How ridiculous is it for a Man to think of destroying the positive Evidence of a Fact by such trifling Suppositions ! But it is altogether suitable to the Measure of this Writer’s Candour.

Well, but our Author will further shew what Dependence there is on the Truth of Gospel History. For, *Matthew* says, † when the Body was buried, *Mary Magdalene and the other Mary sat over-against the Sepulchre.* *Mark* tells us, ‖ that *Mary Magdalene and Mary the Mother of Jesus beheld where he was laid.* *Luke* agrees with them, and informs us, that § *the Women also which came with him from Galilee followed after, and beheld the Sepulchre, and how the Body was laid.* Therefore they knew, to be sure, that *Nicodemus* had laid it in Spices. Yet *Luke* says, * that these very Women *returned from the Sepulchre, and prepared Spices and Ointments, and rested the Sabbath Day.* And *Mark*, ‡ that *they had bought sweet Spices, that they might come and anoint him,* and came very early in the Morning when the Sabbath was past to do it. *Luke* relates the same. But our Author can by no Means reconcile this with *John’s* Account ; “ for
 “ if the Body was laid in the Sepulchre with an
 “ *hundred Pound Weight of Spices,* what need had it of
 “ more, or to be done again? ” — A very judicious Question truly ; on the answering of which our Author seems to suspend his Judgment of the Credibility of the Gospel History.

He urges as a farther Instance of the Disagreement of these Writers, that “ *Matthew* tells one
 “ Story about guarding and sealing the Sepul-

† *Matt.* xvii. 61. ‖ *Mark* xv. 47. § *Luke* xxiii. 55.

* *Luke* xxiii. 56. ‡ *Mark* xvi. 1.

“ chre, *Mark* and *Luke* another, which shews it
 “ was neither guarded nor sealed; *John* to the
 “ same Purpose, but different from both.”

It is observable, he says, that tho’ this Story of the sealing and guarding the Sepulchre is of *great Consequence*, being written to prove that the Disciples did not steal the Body away by Night, and tho’ it was a public Action, it is received only on the Report of a single Testimony. Those that wrote after this Witness should not have been silent about it, but given a more particular Account of it, with some corroborating Circumstances, for Confirmation Sake, *to confound Infidels and comfort Believers.*

An honest Inquirer after Truth, will treat that insolent Sneer at the Close of the foregoing Paragraph with a deserved Contempt or Pity. The Comfort of Believers does not depend on the sealing or not sealing of Christ’s Sepulchre, but on his rising from the Dead. And in the Faith of this glorious Event many Believers have braved the severest Tortures, and triumphed even in Death itself. May the unhappy Writer, who is labouring to destroy the Foundation of this blessed Confidence, not be destitute of the Comfort it affords in his dying Moments.

Several Pages are employed to invalidate St. *Matthew’s* Account of the sealing and watching the Sepulchre. One of our Author’s Arguments for this Purpose is as follows, “ The *Jewish* Priests and
 “ Rulers, bad as they were, were Men, and bad
 “ Men have the same Passions, and are as subject
 “ to their Government as good Men, if not much
 “ more; and Miracles surely work more on the
 “ Passions than the Reason of Men; therefore
 “ Miracles must have made at least the same Im-
 “ pression on them as on other Men: They were
 “ as willing to have a Messiah and Deliverer as the
 “ rest of their Countrymen, tho’ they did not think
 “ Jesus was that Person: Both Priests and People were
 “ credulous

“ credulous of Miracles, being nursed up in the Belief
 “ of them. This being the Case, it is incredible, that
 “ if such a Miracle had been wrought at the Sepulchre
 “ as *Matthew* relates, and had been reported to the Rulers
 “ of the *Jews*, by Persons of their own Party, whom they
 “ had entrusted to watch the Occurrences that might hap-
 “ pen there, in whom they could absolutely confide, and
 “ who had been so astonished thereby ; I say it is not to
 “ be credited that in such Circumstances the *Jewish* Coun-
 “ cil should act as they are said to have done. To suppose
 “ those Miracles (at the Crucifixion and Resurrection of
 “ Jesus) that were told the Priests and Pharisees, had no
 “ Effect on them, though they believed them, is contrary
 “ to the common Sense and Passions which are the Springs
 “ of Action in Mankind ; nor is it to be thought they
 “ could disbelieve them, when reported to them by such
 “ Evidences. But, if they had believed them, they must
 “ have considered Christ as the Messiah, or their Deliverer,
 “ (for so according to their Prophecies the Messiah was to
 “ be) and would, instead of hiring Soldiers to conceal the
 “ Miracle, at the Resurrection, or instead of stifling
 “ any others, have lifted Soldiers in his Service, and set up
 “ his Banner at the Temple Gates, or at least would have
 “ silently and cautiously waited the Event, lest they should
 “ be found guilty of fighting against God : For they
 “ must know, that a Work so miraculous could only be of
 “ God, and being of God, they could not overthrow it.”

This may to many seem very plausible, but to others,
 who have a more intimate Acquaintance with human Na-
 ture, there may appear no Inconsistency, in the Rulers be-
 lieving the Soldiers Report of what happened at our Saviour's
 Tomb and acting as they did. There is hardly any thing
 more fallacious than reasoning from general Ideas of Man-
 kind.

When our Author has, with an obvious Satisfaction to
 himself, expatiated on the Inconsistencies which he thinks
 are to be found in *St. Matthew's* Account of Christ's
 Resurrection, he proceeds to represent clearly, as he says,
 the true State of the Case, by shewing what Proofs of it
 the Evidence produce, or how those that are called Wit-
 nesses agree in their Evidence. This falls under

The third Period of Time (to use his own Expression)
 Where *the Evidence the Evangelists give the World for this*
Fact

Fact is the main Consideration. As for what Proofs the Apostles give besides, they will be of no Authority, if those of the Evangelists fail. The Testimony of these therefore is what he applies himself to consider, and strenuously endeavours to shew their Discordancy. He is affectedly methodical in his Process. It will suffice, if, with less Formality, I quote one or two Passages.

First, The first Appearance of Jesus is related by *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *John*. These disagree as to the Persons to whom he appeared: *Matthew* saying it was to *Mary Magdalene* and the other *Mary*; *Mark* and *John* mention *Mary Magdalene* only.

Secondly, With respect to Place and Time they are at no less Variance. *Matthew* says, after the two *Mary*'s had been at the Sepulchre, and were returning to tell the Disciples the News, Jesus met them by the Way.

John says, after *Mary Magdalene* had been at the Sepulchre, and had ran and told the Disciples what was the News there, and came again to the Sepulchre, she then saw Jesus and the Angels there.

Thirdly, As to the Manner, *Matthew* says, the *Mary*'s held Jesus by the Feet.

John says, Jesus forbid *Mary* to touch him.

Fourthly, With regard to the Message Jesus is said to have given *Mary*, *Matthew* says, that Jesus bid *Mary* tell his Disciples he was going to *Galilee*.

John says, that Jesus bid *Mary* tell his Disciples he was going to his Father.

Our Author attempts after this to shew, that the Evangelists are no more agreed about the Circumstances attending *Peter* and *John*'s going to the Sepulchre of our Saviour, after they had heard of his Resurrection.

He then goes on to consider the second Appearance of Christ after his Resurrection, viz. To the two Disciples going to *Emmaus*. He aims at evincing the Improbability of *St. Luke*'s Account of this Matter, and pretends to obviate what the Author of the *Trial of the Witnesses* has alledg'd for the Support of it.

A third Appearance of our blessed Saviour was to all the Apostles. But our Author is far from acquiescing in the Scripture Account of it.

“ *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke* agree, that when the Disciples were made acquainted with the Resurrection of Jesus they met him for the first and last Time. But this,

“ “

“ St. *John*, the Author of the *Acts*, and St. *Paul* contradict; for they tell us of other Appearances afterwards.

“ *Matthew* and *Mark* say, the Disciples had Orders to meet Jesus at *Galilee*, but *Luke* and the Author of the *Acts* say, the Disciples had Orders not to depart from *Jerusalem*.

“ *Matthew* disagrees with *Luke*, both as to the Time and Place of this Appearance; for *Matthew* says, it was at a Mountain in *Galilee*, where Jesus had appointed them; therefore the Disciples could not be there on the Evening he rose, the nearest Part of *Galilee* being above threescore Miles from *Jerusalem*, where, according to *Luke*, this Appearance was. —

“ The Author of the *Acts* says, that Jesus was with the Apostles forty Days, *Luke* only one Day. Now could this Author be *Luke*, who so contradicts *Luke*?

“ *John* agrees with *Luke*, that Jesus appeared to his Disciples on the Evening of the first Day of the Week; and, by the Circumstances, this Appearance was at *Jerusalem*, tho’ he does not name the Place; but *John* disagrees with the other three, in not making it the last and only one to the Apostles. The three say the eleven were gathered together, at the Time of it; *John* says, *Thomas* one of the eleven, was not there; so that there were but ten of them.”

“ *John* tells us of more Appearances of Jesus to his Disciples than the other Evangelists do, and after they say he ascended, or took his last Leave of them; it is sufficient therefore to say of *John*’s Evidence, that his destroys their’s, or their’s destroys his.

St. *Paul* likewise mentions Appearances of Jesus which the Evangelists do not, but he writes by Hear-say, and so can be no proper Evidence.” And how little what he says, in several Places, is to be depended on, our Author strives to evince.”

I have now, as I apprehend, given the Reader a View of that Part of this Work, wherein the Strength of our Author’s Argument lies against the Resurrection of our Saviour. The remaining Part of his Book, besides a disgustful Repetition of the same Sentiments and Reasonings as we had before, affords nothing that can be of any Service to his Cause, if what we have here taken Notice of, prove insufficient: and if what he has already offered stands good, all that ensues is needless.

T H E



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORKS of the LEARNED.

For AUGUST, 1743.

ARTICLE V.

REMARKS upon some Writers in the Controversy concerning the Foundation of Moral Virtue and Moral Obligation; particularly the Translator of Archbishop King's Origin of Evil, and the Author of the Divine Legation of Moses.

To which are prefix'd, some Cursory Thoughts on the Controversies concerning necessary Existence, The Reality and infinity of Space, The Extension and Place of Spirits, and on Dr. Watts's Notion of Substance.

THE PREFACE.



Have so great an Esteem of the Judgment and Penetration of the Translator, and Author of the Notes on Archbishop King's Origin of Evil;
F and

and have received so much Light from him on several Subjects, that I am sorry to be obliged to differ from him on any. But I am much more concern'd to find, that one who generally seems inclin'd to do justice to all the Authors he has Occasion to mention, should shew a Partiality against one of the greatest Lights this Age has produced; a Divine, whose Writings are universally allow'd (except on one Point of great Depth and Difficulty) to convey the clearest and strongest Convictions of the most important Truths of Religion, that solid Reasoning, and the most judicious Explications of Scripture can give, to all sober and rational Enquirers. To what then can be imputed that remarkable Byass against this great Man in so candid a Writer? I would not suppose a too partial Regard for the Eminent Head of the Opposition against him, whose figure in the Learned World has drawn many rash Adventurers to engage on his Side, tho' few, I am persuaded, of the Weight and Discernment of the Author of the Notes. All personal Regards ought undoubtedly to be laid aside, in Questions of such Importance as the ultimate Foundation of Moral Virtue, and of Moral Obligation; and as the following Remarks on that Debate, were at first drawn up only for my own Use, tho' now thought fit to be made public, I hope they may be excused, however different from the Notions of some, for whose superior Abilities I have not the less Deference.

I have not meddled with the Comparison of moral and positive Duties, which first occasioned

oned this Controversy; because I think, if it be well proved that the Obligation to moral Virtue is ultimately founded on the eternal and immutable Nature of Things, that will go a great Way in deciding where the Preference should be laid: And more especially, because I think our Saviour himself has determined that Point with such Exactness, as might well have superseded all Arguments upon it.

On the more abstruse Controversies concerning necessary Existence, and the Reality of Space, the Extension and Place of Spirits, and the Nature of Substance, I am only an Enquirer; in Order to which, a few cursory Thoughts are prefixed to the principal Subject of these Papers. If they are thought late in appearing, after the Books to which they relate have some Years been published, let it be considered, that the most noted Authors may be long unknown to those who live in remote Parts of the Country, who, whenever they meet with them, will at all Times think they have a Right to examine Subjects of universal Concernment, and which can never be out of Date.

Remarks on some Passages in the Translator's Notes upon Archbishop King's Origin of Evil.

Of necessary Existence.

THIS seems a Subject of too abstruse a Nature for human Understandings to determine upon decisively ; but I venture to make a few Remarks upon the Dispute as it has been managed in the late Opposition to Dr. *Clarke* ; and must premise, that it looks a little unfavourable to their Cause, that it obliges them to contend against all Proofs from Reason of the *Unity* of God, as well as against the *eternal immutable Nature* of Things ; both which have been esteemed essential Foundations of natural Religion.

I shall next observe, that 'tis somewhat unfair in the Author of the Notes to affirm, * that the Reason for which Necessity of Existence was first introduced, was to exclude a *Difference of Persons* in the divine Nature ; since he could not be ignorant that Dr. *Clarke*, † in that very Place where he first introduced the Notion of Necessity of Existence, from whence he deduces the *Unity of God*, does expressly assert that a *Diversity of Persons* in that one and the same Nature, is not inconsistent with it ; and that there is no Argument by which it can be proved impossible, or unreasonable to be supposed.

This Writer farther urges ‖ that “ Necessity of Existence being, as Dr. *Clarke*, contends simple and uniform, should exclude all Difference or Va-

* P. S. Page 31. † Demonst. of the Being and Attrib. of God. ‖ P. S. and Note 10.

riety of any Sort—and may exclude all Diversity of Perfections in the divine Nature, for the *very same Reason* that it does exclude a *Difference of Persons.* But who has given *any Reason* why it must exclude a Difference of Persons? the Doctor affirms that no Reason can be given for it, and has professedly proved a Diversity of Attributes, or Perfections, to be essentially in God, as this Author himself owns. The Unity Dr. *Clarke* contends for, and which he thinks Necessity of Existence proves, † is a Unity of *Nature* or *Essence*; the Variety he excludes, is a Difference of *Natures*, such a Variety as appears to be in all the Things of the World, which are distinguished one from another by a Diversity, not only of *Modes*, but also of *essential Attributes*.

The Author of the Notes likewise ‖ asserts that Necessity of Existence must exclude that perfect Liberty, or absolute freedom of Choice, which is a Property of God, as well as of Man.” But I can see no manner of Repugnance between these two, any more than there is between Man’s being determined to Existence by the will of God, and yet having a perfect Liberty, or freedom of Choice; Why must the same Principle that is the Ground of the Existence of any Being, be the Ground of all that Being’s Actions or Determinations? Necessitated to *exist*, and necessitated to *act*, are very different Ideas, and seem no way consequent one of the other. But “if we cannot admit it in one Case (says he) why should we in the other? *Answ.* Because it would be an imperfection in the last Case, but is not so in the former.”

As to the Question itself, whether the Divine Being exists by an *absolute Necessity*, or without any Cause, Ground, or Reason of his Existence, it is a

† Demonst. Prop. vii.

‖ Note 10.

Point of too great Difficulty for me to determine on either Side; but I shall venture to set down such Reflections as occur to me on both.

That the most perfect Being, the Cause of all other Beings, should itself exist without any Ground or Reason at all of Existence, is a Supposition that leaves in a considering Mind such a void as it cannot easily be satisfied with. Could the first Cause possibly exist by mere Chance? Then it might possibly never have existed. If it existed without any Reason, it might *without Reason* have existed but a Day before the present Phenomena; and may without Reason cease to exist in any Time to come. And how upon this Supposition can those be confuted who affirm, that the material World and every existing Substance was eternal “*absolutely without any Ground or Reason of Existence?*” If some one Thing can exist absolutely without any Reason, why not every thing? || The Author of the Notes argues upon this Subject, “that there was a Time when all Beings except one were indifferent to Existence, or Non-existence, were nothing; and that for them to be determined to Existence, is a *Change*, which cannot be effected without a Cause; whereas in eternal Existence there is no Change, no Effect, and therefore no Cause wanted.” But this, instead of being an Answer to the Followers of *Spinoza*, would be a plain begging the Question, since they maintain that the Universe has existed eternally, *absolutely without any Cause or Reason of Existence*; and I see not how they can be confuted by those who affirm the same of God. If the most perfect of all Beings can be conceived to exist absolutely without any Ground or Reason at all, how can we determine what may or may not be without Reason? In Short, may we not more justly say of *this* what our Author says of *Necessity*? “’Tis in Truth such a vague equivocal Principle, that it will be hard to affirm positively what it may, or may not do.”

On the other Hand, *necessary Existence* seems to give the Mind something more satisfactory to rest on; if the first Cause is necessarily existent, it must have always existed, and cannot possibly cease to exist: And not only *Eternity*, but several other Attributes are deducible from this Principle, as *Immensify*, *Unity*, &c. whereas from Existence without any Cause or Reason, nothing seems to be certainly deducible. The Author of the Notes affirms indeed, that there may be *two or more* necessarily existing independent Beings, but I think he has not proved it, nor answered what Dr. Clarke alledges to shew, that such a Supposition implies a plain Contradiction.

However, it must be confess'd that there is a great Difficulty attends the Notion of *Necessity*, considered as a Ground or Reason of the Existence of the first Cause, since the Existence must be co-etaneous with the supposed Reason of it; nothing can be really antecedent in the Order of Nature, (whatever it may be in the Order of our Ideas) to an eternal Being. The Author of an *impartial Enquiry of the Being and Attributes of God*, who allows the first Cause to be necessarily existent, yet requires some Ground of that Necessity, which Ground is, as he asserts, *the Perfection of the divine Nature*. Some perhaps will be apt to require another Ground for that; but which ever part we take, the Difficulty seems no way removed: Whether we suppose *Perfection* the Ground of necessary Existence, or found the Existence on an *absolute Necessity*, still the Perfection, the Necessity, and the Existence must be *co-etaneous*; how then can we conceive either of them antecedent to the other, so as to be the Reason of the Necessity, or of the Existence?

But may we not perceive that the first Cause must exist by some *internal Necessity* of its own Nature, so that it was not possible for it not to have existed, tho' the *Manner* how this is, be above hu-

man Comprehension? Do we not allow *Necessity of Existence* to the divine Being, when we suppose that it cannot be destroyed even by his own omnipotent Will, that can annihilate all other Things? Why then may he not have existed by the same *Necessity* from all Eternity, whatever it is, or whencesoever it arises? But if we can perceive such a *Necessity* of the divine Existence, *the Perfection of his Nature* seems most reasonably to be supposed the Ground of it, or rather to be itself the same with that *absolute Necessity*.

The Author of the Notes argues,* that *Necessity* is a Term merely relative, and that no Ideas can possibly be fixed to these Terms, *Necessity absolute in itself*. The same he says of *Truth*, that *Truth* is relative, and all such Phrases as *true in itself*, absolutely such, &c. are very absurd ones. I should be glad to know what this Gentleman thinks of self-evident Truths, such as are no Way deduced from any other Truths, neither require, nor will admit of any Proof; can they be said to be *relative*? or would it be any Absurdity to say of them that they are *true in themselves*? For Instance, may not this Proposition *I exist*, be said to be, by every one that affirms it, true in itself, or absolutely true? Most of our Knowledge indeed is acquired by a Deduction of one Truth from another; and therefore most of the Truths we are acquainted with may be call'd relative, with Respect to our manner of discovering them, tho' many of them may be in themselves *absolutely true*: Thus we deduce the Existence of an independent Being, from the Existence of dependent Beings; but when we have demonstrated this Truth to ourselves, by a Deduction from other known Truths, we may then perceive, and without Absurdity affirm, that it was always true in itself, abso-

* Note 4.

lutely true, that this independent Being existed from all Eternity, when there was no other Being but himself.

And may not Something like this be the Case of relative and *absolute Necessity*? We perceive that the first Cause must necessarily have always existed, from the Absurdities that would follow the contrary Supposition; this is indeed a *consequential* Necessity, which infers nothing of the *Modus* of the divine Existence; but may not this lead us to see, that there must be some *absolute* Necessity in the divine Nature itself, which made it impossible that he should ever not have existed, or that he should ever cease to exist, tho' the Manner or Ground of this Necessity surpasses our Comprehension? Perhaps it would be no less difficult for an unprejudiced Mind to conceive, that we should be forced to allow the *Necessity* of an eternal Existence; (tho' only a consequential one) and yet that there may be no Cause, Reason, Ground, or absolute Necessity at all of that Existence. Oh eternal Being, who can speak without Error of thy incomprehensible Nature, unless enlighten'd by thee!

Remarks on the Notes by Archbishop King's Translator concerning Space, &c. With a Digression on Dr. Watts's Notion of Substance.

THOSE who maintain the real Existence of Space, seem to me to have given great Advantage to their Adversaries by calling it *Extension*; which being a Term that stands for an abstract Idea, they have taken Occasion from thence to treat of Space as such, as having no Existence but in the Mind: Mr. *Locke*, in asserting the Reality of Space, might I think have denied it to be the same with
 Exten-

Extension, for the same Reason that he denies *Matter* to be so; for that cannot be the same with either, which may be predicated of both, and it may be said of Space as well as of Matter, that 'tis extended, which would be Nonsense to say of Extension itself. Space I take to be one of the Particulars, from whence that general Idea is abstracted.

The learned Writer * quoted by the Translator owns, that the Idea of Space is not the Idea of Extension, but of *Something extended*; yet he will have it to be nothing more than an *Ideal Substratum* of Extension. "When the Mind (he says) has been considering the Idea of Extension, abstracted from extended Bodies, — 'tis a very easy Step to frame an *imaginary Substratum* to support an *imaginary Extension*." But this seems to me a very *imaginary* Account of our getting the Idea of this extended something; I rather think we have that Idea before we have any of Extension in General, or are capable of abstracting: Nor does the Mind frame it to itself, 'tis an Idea early obtruded upon it by the Senses, and unavoidably perceived by it, as something without itself. This is all the Proof we have that Matter is any Thing really existing without the Mind; and if the Translator will not admit of this Evidence in behalf of Space, but § require some other Proof that it is something more than *mental*, he may be in a fair Disposition entirely to embrace Bishop *Berkley's* Scheme, to deny that there is any such Thing as *Matter* or Motion but in Idea; we cannot well conceive Motion to be possible without Space, so that if Bodies are allowed really to exist, and move, Space will not easily be discarded; we should methinks admit or reject them all together, and to say the Truth, the Arguments against the Reality of

* Note 3. § See P. S. p. 12.

each of them, seem much of the same Kind, they serve rather to puzzle than to convince.

The only Ground I can apprehend for denying the real Existence of Space, is, that we know not in what Class of Beings to place it. And indeed Dr. *Watts*, who has with great Ingenuity discuss'd all the several Opinions about it, seems at last to determine Space to be *Nothing*, chiefly because he cannot find out what Kind of being it is. But sure our ignorance of its Nature, is no sufficient Reason to exclude from Existence a Thing which so forces itself upon the Mind, that we cannot annihilate it even in Imagination. 'Tis enquired whether Space is a Substance or a Mode? if a Substance, whether Spirit or Body? But how are we assured that this is an adequate Division of Being? "Who has told us (as Mr. *Locke* asks)* that there was, or could be nothing but solid Beings which could not think, and thinking Beings that were not extended? which is all that is commonly meant by Body and Spirit." To this Question I have met with no Answer, but (if that may serve instead of it) a great Exclamation against *Gassendus*, quoted from *Bayle*, by the Author of the Notes, || where it is said, that to avoid asserting that a vacuum is nothing, he chose rather to plunge himself "into the *hideous Abyss* of conjecturing, that "all Beings are not either Substances or Accidents; "and that all Substances are not either Spirits or Bodies; and of placing Space among the Beings "which are neither corporeal or spiritual," &c. Whether all Beings must be divided into Substances or Accidents, I shall not here enquire, but as to the other Part of the Conjecture, I see no Absurdity in supposing, that there may be other Substances than either Spirits or Bodies: Why is this thought such a *hideous Abyss*; but that the Learned are afraid to

* Philosoph. Essays. || Note 6.

suppose there may be any Thing in Nature that they are ignorant of? For my Part I am inclined to take the Hint from *Gassendus*, and venture to propose a Consideration which may perhaps serve to confirm his Conjecture.

It has been observed by the Curious, and beautifully described by Mr. *Addison*, and Mr. *Locke*, that in the Scale of Beings there is such a gradual Progress in Nature, that the most perfect of an inferior Species, comes very near to the most imperfect of that which is immediately above it; that the whole Chasm in Nature from a Plant to a Man, is filled up by such a gentle and easy Ascent, that the little Transitions from one Species to another are almost insensible: That if the Scale of Beings rises by such a regular Progress so high as Man, we may by a Parity of Reason suppose that it still proceeds gradually through those Beings that are of a superior Nature to him; that there is no Manner of Chasm left, no Link deficient in this great Chain of Beings.

Now according to this Observation, which is apparent through all the known Works of God, and by a Parity of Reason presumed of those above our Knowledge, there should be in Nature some Being to fill up the vast Chasm betwixt Body and Spirit, otherwise the Gradation would fail, the Chain would seem to be broken; what a Gap betwixt *senseless Material*, and *intelligent immaterial Substance*, unless there is some Being which by partaking of the Nature of both, may serve as a Link to unite them, and make the Transition less violent: And why may not Space be such a Being? Might we not venture to define it, *an immaterial unintelligent Substance, the Place of Bodies, and of Spirits, having some of the Properties of both.*

I should think that Space might be more fitly called the *Place of Spirits*, than, as Dr. *Clarke* has termed

termed it, the *Place of all Ideas*, which the Author of the Notes believes few besides the Doctor can apprehend. But whatever may or may not be apprehended of the Place of *Ideas*, to suppose that *Spirits are in no Place*, seems to me utterly inconceivable, by whatever subtle or plausible Arguments it may be maintained. Dr. *Watts* * has supported this Notion with all his Force, whose Candour in representing the Side he opposes, and Modesty in defending his own Opinion, are very insinuating. But all his Reasonings on this Point, amount I think to nothing but *Difficulties* that seem to follow from allowing Spirits to be in a Place; as that they must be *extended*, and if so they must have some *Shape or Figure*, and consequently be *divisible*. These Consequences follow indeed from supposing Spirits to be extended in the same Manner that Bodies are; but may not Beings, of whose Nature we have but a partial Knowledge, have some other Kind of Extension, consistent with that Indivisibility which we suppose essential to thinking Substances? Is not Space an Instance of Extension, or Expansion, without Figure or Divisibility, to those who allow it any Being? However, we are not to reject what is *clear*, for the sake of *Difficulties* that may be raised against it; the Learned know that there are insuperable Objections against demonstrable Truths; and perhaps there are few Truths more clear and evident than this, that whatever has a real Existence must exist *somewhere*; nor does any Difficulty or Inconsistency appear greater to me than the Supposition of any Being really existing, yet existing *nowhere*. This Author || argues, that tho' a Body cannot be without being somewhere, yet a Spirit which is a conscious and active Power, may have a real Existence, and yet have *no proper Place*. i. e. as he explains it, have *no Proximity of Situation to Bodies, or fill up no supposed Dimensions of Space*. This

* Essay vi. || Ibid. Sect. iv.

qualifying Expression no *proper* Place, which the Doctor often uses, seems to me to imply that he supposes Spirits to be in a Place after *some Manner* or other; and I would ask him whether he can really conceive, or have any Idea of a *conscious active Power*, exerting its Consciousness and Activity, or even barely existing, without being somewhere, any more than he can conceive Body to be, without being somewhere? should we allow him that Spirits have no Proximity of Situation to Bodies, (a Subject which he has curiously enlarged upon, but is too far out of my Way to engage in) yet I would farther enquire whether he can possibly conceive that they have no Proximity of Situation, or Distance, with respect to one another? Can he suppose that a human Soul as soon as it is free from the Prison of the Body, and finds itself in the World of Spirits, is in that Moment equally present to all the Myriads of Spirits that may exist in the Universe? That it can communicate its Thoughts to them all in that Instant, and receive Communications from the whole Creation of Spirits at once? This surely would be to make them infinite, which he justly says *we know they are not*. If then finite Spirits cannot be present to all of their Kind at once; if they can communicate their Thoughts only to some limited Number at a Time, what Ground can we conceive of such a Limitation, but that they are nearer to and farther from some Spirits than from others? And that I think implies being in a *Place*. The Manner how Spirits *possess Place*, we are undoubtedly ignorant of, and may content ourselves so to be, till we enter into the World of unbodied Minds: But when we venture to affirm that they are *no-where*, I fear we go beyond our clear and distinct Perceptions; as this ingenious Author * owns we are in

* Essay vi. Conclus.

Danger of doing, when we endeavour to turn from sensible Ideas. I should be apt to think, with Mr. *Locke*, * that Spirits must possess a Place so as to exclude any of the same Kind from it, otherwise all Distinction between them must be lost. To this Dr. *Watts* || answers, that every Spirit is sufficiently distinguished from all others, by its particular Cogitations and Consciousness. But I cannot see how the particular Consciousness of any Being can distinguish it from others, to any but itself.—But to return to the Author of the Notes.

This learned Writer asserts that “Space and Spirit, and the distinct Properties of each, appear to him as distant and incompatible, as the most remote and inconsistent Things in Nature; and an *extended Soul* seems just such another Phrase, as a green Sound,” &c. yet a few Lines after he owns, that ’tis perhaps impossible for us to imagine any such thing as an *unextended Substance*,” which is I think not very consistent with the former Assertion; if it is as impossible for us to imagine an *unextended Soul* or Substance, as it is impossible to imagine the Colour of a Sound, then it should rather follow, that an *unextended Soul* must seem just such a Phrase as a *Green Sound*, since they both express Things of which we can have *no Idea*. This judicious Writer frequently blames others for going beyond their Ideas for Knowledge, why does he go beyond his Ideas, or why would he have us do so in this Case? I confess I see no Reason for it, Extension not seeming to me inconsistent with Indivisibility, the allowed Property of thinking Beings; a simple un compounded, therefore indivisible, yet extended Substance, carries with it no Contradiction that I can perceive; and if ascribed even to the Deity

* In his Chap. of Ident. divers. Sect. 2. || Essay xii. S. vii.
himself,

himself, as some have done, I should apprehend no Inconvenience in it, provided the Properties belonging to compound finite Substances, be excluded from the Idea.

If the Author of the Notes should admit of my Conjecture, That there must be some Being to fill up the vast Chasm betwixt Body and Spirit, for the sake of that beautiful Gradation which he makes so good use of, to confirm an Argument of Bishop King's; I fear he would scarce allow that *Space*, which he treats of as a mere Nothing, may possibly be such a Being; much less would he admit it for the *Place of Spirits*; since he, as well as Dr. *Watts*, contends, that Spirits are in *no Place*: Nor would either of them, I suppose, allow of an immaterial Being, without the *Power of Thinking*; for, according to the Author of the Notes, "The Substance of Spirit consists in the Powers of Thinking and Acting; the Aggregate of the Properties of any Being is the Being itself." But if Thinking is the *Action* of Spirits, as it is acknowledged to be, even by those who contend that it is their very Substance; How is it possible to conceive that the Actions of a Being are the Being itself? Dr. *Watts* likewise maintains, that a *Power of Thinking is the Substance of Spirit*; that this is sufficient to support all the Properties of Spirit, and that therefore there is no need of supposing any other *unknown* Subject of them. On this Point he is very large; and tho' it does not directly relate to that which I am upon, he has several Passages that incline me to go a little out of my Way to take some Notice of them.

This Author argues,† that if a *Power of Thinking* be only a meer Mode or Property, then it may be destroy'd, and yet the Substance will remain;

† Essay II. Sect. III.

but destroy *thinking Power*, and nothing at all remains, *we have no Idea left*. We have *no Idea* left indeed of what remains, (unless the obscure one of something to which that Power did belong.) But does it follow that therefore nothing can remain? If there is Ground, from Reason and the Nature of Things, to conclude that a Power of Thinking cannot subsist of itself, but must be the Property of some Being, our Ignorance, or having *no Idea* of what the Substance of that Being is, will not hinder it from remaining, if God should think fit to take from it the Power of Thinking. *Logical Ways of speaking*, to which this ingenious Author imputes our Prejudices against allowing a Power of Thinking to subsist without a Subject, seem, in this Case, Forms of Speaking founded on Reason and Truth; for what Idea can we frame of a *Power* without supposing some Being to which it belongs? What is a *Power of Thinking in perpetual Act*, but an Ability or Capacity perpetually exerted? And how can this be conceived, but as the Property and Action of some Being that exerts its Ability, and therefore must be distinct from it. I do not find myself so prejudiced by Logical or Grammatical Ways of Speaking, but that I could easily agree with this Author, That *solid Extension* may possibly be the very Substance, or only *Substratum* of all the Properties of *Matter*; I see nothing repugnant to Reason in this Supposition: But I cannot so well reconcile my Reason to the Notion, That a *Power of Thinking* may be the Substance of Spirit; Actions and Abilities (and I have no other Idea of Powers) seem unavoidably to imply some Subject of them, some Being that exerts its Powers in different Ways of Acting.

I confess myself ignorant indeed of what the Substance of that Being is, but cannot think *that* a sufficient Reason to exclude it from Existence, as this

new Philosophy would do, tacking Properties and Actions together, without any Subject of either; somewhat unphilosophically, as it seems to me. Nor have I found any Arguments from the Maintainers of this new Notion, that oblige me to alter the Sentiments I had when I formerly † endeavoured to shew, from what we know of the human Soul, that Thinking cannot be the Substance or Essence of it; and that it may continue to *Be*, tho' it should sometimes cease to *Act*. It has long been my Opinion, that, from our Ignorance of the Nature of Things, or of their Manner of Acting, how they cease to act, or how they resume their Actions, no other reasonable Conclusion can be drawn, but of the Narrowness of our Understandings. This is a Lesson I early learnt from Mr. *Locke's* Essay; and if others would make the same Use of a Work so adapted to teach us where to set Bounds to our Pretences to Knowledge, there would be no fear of the dangerous Consequences Dr. *Watts* apprehends from admitting, with that great Man, an *unknown Substratum* of the Properties of Matter and of Spirit. Is it suitable to our limited Understandings to conclude, that, because we know not what the Substance of either is, therefore they may be the same? Is there not at least the same Ground for the very contrary Conclusion? But if we must argue about the *Nature* of Things which we know not, let us form our Reasonings from what we do know of them; let us rather conclude, that Properties so essentially different as those of Matter and Spirit are, must certainly belong to Substances as essentially different in themselves.

'Tis but too common, I confess, to frame an Hypothesis, and even to establish the most important Truths, upon the Nature of Things we are unac-

† Defence of Mr. *Locke's* Essay, printed in 1702.

quainted with: And this is what Mr. *Locke* seems to me designing to *ridicule*; not the Notion of *Substance in general*, as Dr. *Watts* supposes, but forming Arguments, and drawing Conclusions from the *Nature* of Substance, which we are as ignorant of, as the *Indian* was of his unknown Something that supported the Tortoise, &c. A Design, which agrees very well with the * Title of the Section where he introduces that Comparison! 'Tis certain, Mr. *Locke* always allows that there is a real Ground in Nature for our general Notion of Substance; as that which supports all the Properties that we observe in different Beings, and which we cannot conceive to subsist of themselves; and therefore I think he could never intend to ridicule that Notion: Yet I do not see how his insisting on this *unknown Something* should lead his Readers (as this Author apprehends) into a Belief, that there is such a real Being as *Substance in general*, the common Support of all the Properties of particular different Beings, unless his Readers mistake what he says of *our Idea* of Substance to be meant of the *real Nature* of Substance; which, perhaps, is often the Case, tho' these are very different Things. The Bishop of *Worcester* seems to have fallen into that Mistake; and I fear this Author has done the same, for what he quotes from Mr. *Locke's* first Letter to the Bishop for his Notion of a *general Substance*, plainly relates to our *general Idea* of Substance, which is indeed *the same every where*; an abstract Idea, in which all Substances must agree, tho' in other Respects they may be essentially different. A *real Universal* cannot sure be deduced from his Principles, who has sufficiently exploded that Notion, and expressly maintains that every real Existence is particular: And Individuals of all Kinds he often

* Substance and Accident of little Use in Philosophy.

speaks of as particular *distinct Substances*. He † treats it as no small Absurdity to suppose that Substance, when applied to God, to created Spirits, and to material Beings, signifies the same Thing, that is, the same in its *own Nature*; tho' we are so far from having three distinct Meanings of it, that we have but one common, and that a *confused obscure Idea*, not of what it *is*, but of what it *does*. Yet, as unknown as he supposes the Nature of Substance to be, I cannot but think he has sufficiently obviated all the Objections to that Notion, and secured it from any *unhappy Consequences*, by his clear Demonstration, That the eternal Mind cannot possibly be Material, That no System of Matter can of its own Nature be capable of Thinking, and that our Certainty of the Immortality of the Soul does not depend upon our Knowledge of what the Substance of it is. And I am sorry to find that the Weight of these Arguments did not give Satisfaction to so candid and judicious a Writer.—But to return from this Digression.

Among many eminent Philosophers, Mr. *Locke*, in particular, as I just observed, has demonstrated, That the first Cause of all Things must be immaterial: He too maintains it to be in the highest Degree probable, that the Soul of Man is also immaterial; (grounding the Possibility he supposes, that some Systems of Matter may have a Power of Perception and Thought, tho' we cannot conceive how Matter can be capable of it, solely on that Omnipotent Will, which, in uniting the human Soul and Body, has given them Powers of acting on each other, which we can no more conceive how they can be capable of.) Other learned Men have professed to demonstrate, that *all thinking Beings* must necessarily be immaterial; and we should in Rea-

son allow of their Demonstrations, as agreeing with our best Conception of Things, so far as may be without limiting the Divine Omnipotence. But from the strongest Proofs, that *all thinking Beings* must be immaterial, it does not follow, that every immaterial Being must think: Thinking not being a necessary Consequence of Immateriality, for aught that can appear to us, till the new Philosophy is better established than it yet seems to be, which would make a Power of Thinking and immaterial Substance to be the same Thing. The Author of the *Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul*, in diffusing immaterial Beings through the whole sensible Creation, (tho' he has much laboured to prove that every Being, capable of Perception, must always actually perceive) has brought them down to so low a Degree of Sensation or Perception, according to the Bodies they inform, so very near to none, that it seems but an easy Step farther to imagine with me, some *immaterial* Beings placed in such Circumstances as to have no Perception at all; thus linking the *intelligent* and *material* World together by an easy Gradation; into which Class I would willingly introduce *Space*, the Subject from whence I have insensibly wandered.

Of infinite Space.

Most of those who have maintained the real Existence of Space, (perhaps all of them) have likewise asserted it to be *infinite*; and it may be thought a bold Singularity to dispute it. But as the Translator of the *Origin of Evil* judiciously observes, the equivocal Use of that Word, by jumbling Mathematics and Metaphysics together, has occasioned a great deal of Confusion in Subjects of this Kind; and, in regard to our Ignorance of the Extent of Space, I think it is more fitly stiled *indefinite*.

Some have ascribed a *positive* Infinity to Space, others only a *negative* one, which are very opposite Things; if by the former Dr. *Clarke* meant a metaphysical Infinity *viz.* absolute Perfection, to which nothing can be added, I see not how positive Infinity in that Sense can be applyed to any Thing but the Deity and his Attributes. The Doctor seems indeed to make infinite Space something near a divine Attribute, when he calls it * an *abstract Idea of Immen- sity*, which I confess I do not understand.

As to that other Kind of Infinity, which Mr. *Locke* has explain'd at large and ascribes to Space, that perpetual Addibility or Encreaseableness without End, it seems utterly inconsistent with being positively or absolutely infinite; and, according to my Notions, that Kind of negative Infinity cannot without a Contradiction be applyed to any thing that has a real actual compleat Existence; and therefore I think it should not be ascribed to Space, by those who allow Space to be a real particular Being, and not a mere *Idea*. *Negative Infinity* can only be applyed to *general abstract Ideas*, as Number, Duration, Extension, &c. which have no Existence but in the Mind. To those *Ideas* we can always add indeed without ever being able to come to an End; and *there is no great Mystery in that*, † as the Author quoted by the Translator observes.

But it is not the Power the Mind has of enlarging its Idea of Extension *in infinitum*, that is the Ground of ascribing Infinity to Space, as that Author § seems to suppose; for we have the same Power of adding to Number, and yet are not apt to think there is any such Thing as a Number actually infinite: The true Reason that has inclined so many Great Men to think that Space must be boundless, seems to be, that they cannot conceive

* Demonstr. Prop. iv. † Note 3. § *ibid.*

what should set Bounds to it; as Dr. *Clarke* and others have argued. 'Tis impossible, (say they) since that would be to suppose Space bounded by something which itself occupies Space, or else nothing, both which are Contradictions; and Mr. *Locke* has Reasonings that tend to the same Purpose. But these Kind of Arguments seem to me to prove nothing but the Narrowness of our Understandings. As I cannot conclude Space to be *Nothing*, because we know not *what* it is, neither can I conclude it to be *infinite*, because we are ignorant *what can set Bounds to it*. May there not be many Ways of setting Bounds to Space, that we know nothing of? It may be bounded by its own Nature, or by the Will of God, or by some Kind of Beings that we are not acquainted with: In short, whatever *Contradiction* may be supposed in setting Bounds to Space, nothing can seem a more palpable one to me, than to imagine an actual real compleat Being, which implies existing in all its Parts together, and yet to be encreaseable without End, or absolutely boundless, an Idea as I think utterly inconsistent with real Existence.

Oh thou sole infinite Being, *whom the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain!* how art thou hid in impenetrable Darknes! or how short-sighted are we! and with what Diffidence should we reason upon Things which thou hast placed out of our Reach, when *That* which some have thought to be the divine *Immensity*, nay thy very *Essence*, and to which most have ascribed *Infinity*, is by others pronounced to be a mere *Nothing!*

Remarks upon some Writers in the Controversy concerning the Foundation of Moral Virtue, and Moral Obligation, particularly the Translator of Archbishop King's Origin of Evil, in his Notes on that Work.

The Translator of Archbishop King, when he opposes in his Notes those who maintain the Reason Nature and Fitness of Things to be the Foundation of Virtue and of moral Obligation, seems to have forgot that due Candour * himself recommends, of not always taking the Words of Writers on Morality in the common Acceptation, but in the Sense we find they are used by the Author we are reading. A little of this Candour might have spared his cavilling at the Word *Fit*; for however it may be commonly applyed, it is very evident that the Authors he opposes mean by it, *a Suitableness of Actions to the Relations of Things*, and by *Fit* or *Unfit* in themselves, that this Fitness or Unfitness depends not on the Will of any Being, or on any Reward or Punishment annexed to them. When this is sufficiently explained to be the Meaning of those Expressions, it seems not very candid to cavil at them as Solecisms, or an Absurdity of Language; and after all, whatever Dispute there may be about the Truth of their Notion, can any Words be found more proper to express what they contend for? That there is a moral Fitness and Unfitness in Actions, resulting from the Nature of Things, antecedent to all positive Appointment, and to any Consideration of Reward and Punishment.

The Defender of Dr. Clarke, as quoted by this Author in the || Postscript to his Notes, gives for

* Prelim. Disserta. || P. S. p. 21.

Instance on this Subject, “ that it is absolutely right
 “ and fit in itself, antecedent to any Command, that
 “ a Creature should reverence his Creator. Where
 “ (says he) can be any Absurdity in this Proposi-
 “ tion? Is not Reverence from a Creature to his
 “ Creator suitable to the Nature of each of them?”

To this the Author of the Notes answers, “ It is
 “ suitable to the Nature of the *First* as productive
 “ of its Happiness, and to that of the *second* as
 “ agreeable to his Will, who originally designed
 “ the Happiness of his Creatures, and therefore
 “ bound this and the like Duties on them.” Thus
 he resolves all moral Fitness into *Will* on the one
 Hand, and Interest on the other. But surely this
 is reversing the Order of Things; should we not
 rather conclude, that Reverence from a Creature to
 his Creator is therefore productive of Happiness to
 the one, and agreeable to the Will of the other,
 because suitable to their respective Natures? If this
 were not so, if there was no Fitness or Suitableness
 in the Thing itself, antecedent to the Will of God,
 or the Happiness it produces; then God might *origi-
 nally* have annexed the Happiness of his Creatures
 to their *Irreverence* towards him, and *bound that as
 a Duty upon them*: If this appears an absurd or im-
 possible Supposition, to those who deny any antece-
 dent Fitness or Unfitness in Things, (As Dr. *Wa-
 terland* and some other Writers on his Side, affirm
 such Suppositions to be) ’tis a plain giving up their
 Cause; for what Absurdity can there be in that Sup-
 position, if the Suitableness of Reverence from a
 Creature to the Creator depends solely on the Cre-
 ator’s Will, and the Happiness he has made conse-
 quent upon it? Since, in that Case, his willing the
 direct contrary, would make *Irreverence* as suitable
 to the Nature of both.

The Opposers of Dr. *Clarke*, who have of late
 introduced the Doctrine of founding moral Good
 and

and Evil on the sole Will of God, in Order to establish *Positive Duties* on the same Ground with *Moral*, seem labouring to overthrow the most solid and immutable Foundation of moral Virtue, and even to take away our only certain Criterion of the Will of God, the *eternal immutable Nature, and necessary Relation of Things*.

“ We cannot * (says the Author of the Notes,) “ imagine these Relations to be *strictly eternal*, or “ independent of the Will of God, because they “ must necessarily presuppose a Determination of “ that Will, and are in Truth only Consequences “ of the Existence of Things proceeding from that “ Determination.”

To this I answer, the necessary Relations of all possible Things are *strictly eternal*, as they are eternally perceived by the divine Understanding to be unalterably what they are. This depends not on a Determination of the Will of God, tho’ the bringing any possible Nature with its necessary Relations into *actual* Existence, proceeds solely from that Determination. This Distinction the Writers on the other Side are very apt either *weakly* or *wilfully* to overlook, tho’ a very obvious and a very important one in this Controversy: Whether God will bring into actual Existence, a particular System of Beings, of any determinate Nature, depends undeniably on his sole Will and Pleasure; but whether that System of Beings shall have such and such Relations, from whence certain Fitnesses and Unfitnesses must result, depends not on his Will, but on the Nature of the Beings he is determined to create. To suppose that he may will them to have other Relations, &c. is to suppose that he may will them to be another Kind of Beings than he determined to create, for if they are the same, the Relations and Fitnesses resulting from their Nature, are necessary and immutable.

* Remark i.

This Writer farther adds, "much less can we apprehend how these Relations, &c. * *are to be chosen for their own Sakes and intrinsic Worth, or have a full obligatory Power antecedent to any Reward or Punishment, annexed either by natural Consequence, or positive Appointment, to the Observance or Neglect of them*; Since the natural Good or Happiness consequent upon, and connected with, the Observance of them, is to us their sole Criterion, the Argument and Indication of their Worth, the Ground of all their Obligation." And what then? There is Nothing in this at all inconsistent with what Dr. Clarke maintains in those Words quoted from him; he does not say that those Things are to be chosen, &c. antecedent to any *natural* Good or Happiness consequent upon them, but antecedent to any *Reward or Punishment* annexed to the Observance or Neglect of them, either by natural Consequence or positive Appointment; and it sufficiently appears in many Places of the Doctor's Works, that *natural Good*, is to him the Criterion of *moral Good*, as it respects ourselves, or our fellow Creatures; tho' *Reward and Punishment* is not; a Distinction which it is strange so penetrating a Judgment should have been at a loss to apprehend.

But let it here be observed, that tho' the Fitness of moral Actions consists in their general Tendency to produce natural Good to the Objects of them, yet there are particular Cases where the Fitness remains, tho' no natural Good should be consequent upon it; Respect to Parents, Gratitude to Benefactors, are always fit in themselves, that is, have a Rectitude in them that makes them fit to be chosen, whether any Benefit can accrue from them to either Side or not: And in whatever regards our Duties to the supreme Being, *natural Good* seems not at all the Criterion of them; the Object of them we are sure can receive no Advantage by them; and

* These are Dr. Clarke's Words.

I would ask those Gentlemen who assert † that *Nothing can be our Duty that is not our Interest into the Bargain*, whether Reverence and Gratitude to the Creator would not always be the Duty of a Creature, tho' we should suppose him unalterably placed in a State of the utmost Happiness he was capable of? Whether there is not a Rectitude in such a Behaviour, a Fitness necessarily resulting from the Relation he stands in to his Maker and Benefactor; which a rational Mind must be *conscious* is his Duty, tho' (as in the supposed Case) there could be *no Interest into the Bargain*.

The Author of the Notes allows this conscious Approbation and Disapprobation, to be of itself both *Rule and Obligation*; but to make this consistent with his Scheme of resolving all Obligation into Interest or private Happiness, He § founds the Obligation of moral Sense upon the *Uneasiness* we feel when we neglect what it approves, or practise what it disapproves, as it makes our Conformity to it necessary to our Happiness. But the Obligation seems plainly founded on the *Approbation* itself; the *Uneasiness* we feel upon the Practice of any Thing contrary to what moral Sense approves, is a *Consequence* of the Obligation, not the *Foundation* of it, and only shews that we are conscious of being obliged to certain Actions, which we cannot neglect without standing self-condemned; Self-condemnation manifestly presupposing some *Obligation* that we judge ourselves to have transgressed.

But tho' Dr. *Clarke* and his Followers maintain, that the *Fitness of Things*, and Conscience or the *moral Sense* (by which they never understand, nor would I be understood to mean, a blind Instinct, but a Consciousness consequent upon the Perceptions of the rational Mind) have in themselves an ob-

† Turner quoted by Author of the Notes in Rem. i. § *ibid.*
ligatory

ligatory Power, yet it must be allowed, and they as earnestly maintain, that the *Will of God*, with the Sanctions of his Laws, can only enforce this Obligation, so as to extend to all Times and all Cases. These therefore, as Mr. *Warburton* † judiciously observes, make a threefold Cord that ought never to be untwisted: The Consideration of the *Will of God* must necessarily be taken into all Schemes of Morality, as the Author of the Notes justly says; but an Endeavour to establish it upon that alone, exclusive of the other Principles, seems to me no less a Defect in *some*, than the Want of that has been in *many* of our modern Systems.

Remarks on Note 53 in the second Part of the Origin of Evil, concerning the Foundation of Virtue, and of Moral Obligation.

This large Note has suggested some farther Reflections on the foregoing Subjects. 'Tis strongly urged, both by Archbishop *King*, and in the Notes by his Translator, that it depended solely on the Will of God whether he should create any World, and, among many possible Worlds, which he should choose, there being no *Best* among created Things that could absolutely determine him. All which I think is very justly argued, and solidly refutes Mr. *Leibnitz's* Notion of there being nothing equal or indifferent in Nature. But I do not see how this at all affects the Arguments of those who maintain a Fitness in Things antecedent to the divine Will; tho' the artful mingling this Contest with the other, which has no Dependence on it, casts a Mist upon the Subject that a little perplexes it: The Defenders of this antecedent Fitness, have no Need of supposing that the present System is *absolutely best*. There

† Divine Lega.

may be many possible nay actually created Worlds, as good or perhaps better than this; each of these may have different Systems producing different Relations, and Fittests resulting from them, which will be as eternal and immutable as those of our System are asserted to be; for the Relations of all *possible* Systems must be eternally in the divine *Mind*, as the Translator owns; they cannot therefore be dependent on *Will*.

God is indeed perfectly free to choose which of them he will bring into actual Existence; but when he has fixed on any particular System, the Relations and Fittests resulting from it are necessary; and to act suitably to them, must be an immutable Rule to that System of Beings. To this Reason, Nature, and Fitness of Things, the divine Will always conforms itself: God cannot, for Instance, will that Pain shall be suitable and Pleasure unsuitable to a sensible Being; or that it shall be morally Good to give causeless Pain to such a Being. Nor can he will the Existence of innocent Creatures on Purpose to make them miserable; not because *this would be contrary to what he has willed already*, (as this Writer † argues) or *inconsistent with what he supposes to be the sole End of God's acting*, viz. a *Communication of Happiness*; but because there is an *unsuitableness* in the Thing itself, inconsistent with *Rectitude*, and therefore morally evil. If there was no Unsuitableness in this, if making Creatures to be happy or miserable was indifferent in the Nature of Things, antecedent to the Will of God, no Reason can be given why he may not change his Will concerning them, or make *Misery* instead of *Happiness* the *End of his acting*. But let us suppose God to have had some other End in the Creation, as the *Exercise and Manifestation of his Power*; this End

† Note 53,

might be answered by making innocent Creatures on Purpose to be miserable; but can any one think this would be equally Fit, Right, and Good, as to design them for Happiness? And yet this must be the Case, if the Fitness or Goodness of Things depends merely on God's willing them, as Dr. *Clarke's* Opposers maintain. But farther, if this was so, if there was no essential Difference in the Nature of Good and Evil, we could never be certain either that God would deal with us according to Truth, Justice, and the Reason of Things, (if upon that Supposition there would be any meaning in those Words) or that we ourselves were under any Obligation of dealing equitably with our fellow Creatures. He might decree us to eternal Misery, merely to shew his Sovereignty; or have a secret Will contrary to his revealed one, as some upon this very Principle have taught: So that we could neither know what we might expect from God, or what he required of us, by any Kind of Declaration that he could make of his Will; since, according to this Notion, it would be no more *unfit from the Nature of Things*, that he should will to break his Promise, and to deal deceitfully with us, than that he should will to act with Faithfulness, with Equity and Veracity.

When the Author of the Notes finds himself pressed with the Danger of this Principle, of founding Good and Evil, and placing the Obligation to Virtue, on the mere Will of God, he owns, that *mere Will* would of itself be no Ground of Obligation at all, and that *the Will of God must not be separated from his other Attributes*, which is, I think, giving up all that is contended for: The moral Attributes of God, his Goodness, Justice, Truth, and Rectitude, are chiefly understood by us with Re-

† Ibid.

lation to his Dealings with his Creatures, suitably to the Nature he has given them, and to their Demeanour in it; to say then that the Will of God *must not be separated* from these Attributes, *i. e.* must be considered as determining itself agreeably to, or in Conformity with them, is the same Thing, in other Words, with conforming itself to the Reason, Nature, and Fitness of Things.

What ill Consequences this Author § apprehends from founding moral Obligation on the Fitness of Things, antecedent to any Consideration of Reward and Punishment. (for which he has taken so much Pains to oppose it) he has not been pleased to tell us; but the ill Consequences of the contrary Notions, of making Good and Evil depend upon *mere Will*, and all Obligation to Virtue upon *private Happiness*, are obvious enough, tho' he so earnestly contends for them. Upon his Scheme, the Heathens, who considered not the Law of Nature as the Will of the supreme Being, and knew nothing of a future Recompence, could have no Obligation to Virtue at all; and consequently could not be justly punishable for the Neglect of it. The Blessed in Heaven, as we suppose them confirm'd in unalterable Bliss, can have no Duties to perform; there can be Nothing fit or right for them to do, since they can have no Advantage by it. But we have good Reason to believe that they are worthily employed in Acts of Gratitude to their Creator, and of Benevolence to his Creatures, who in a lower or more imperfect State may need their Assistance; and therefore we are taught to pray that the Will of God may *be done on earth as it is in Heaven*. But what is worst of all, upon this Scheme (as I had Occasion before to observe) if there is nothing right or fit in itself, but only as it tends to the Happiness of the Agent,

we could never depend upon being equitably dealt with by the Deity, since he could receive no Addition of Happiness from it.

The Author of the Notes indeed supposes, that
 “ God was always determined to pursue the best
 “ End, and by the best Means; but why he is so de-
 “ termined, and in what Sense this was *better* and
 “ *fitter for him*, who could receive no Addition of
 “ Happiness from it, I confess (says he) I do not
 “ understand.” In truth, upon his Principles, this is
 not only unaccountable, but must be very doubtful.
 There could indeed be no such Thing as *best End*, or
best Means, nor any Motive of Action, to a per-
 fectly happy Being; which sufficiently shews that
 the Principle itself must be false. Whereas, those
 who maintain the *essential Difference* of Good and
 Evil, Right and Wrong, and the immutable Re-
 lations of Things, as they were eternally in the di-
 vine Mind, will easily understand why a perfectly
 happy Being, of infinite Knowledge and Power,
 who unerringly sees what is in its own Nature Good,
 Right and Fit, and can be under no Influence to
 byass the Rectitude of his Will, should always de-
 termine himself to do what he perceives to have a
 Goodness in it; nor will they be at a Loss to know,
 in what Sense it is *better and fitter*, that such a Be-
 ing should pursue the best Ends, should promote
 Order, Rectitude, and Happiness; these Things
 being necessarily approved, and consequently Objects
 of Choice to every rational Mind that is under no
 wrong Influence.

And as the most perfectly *Happy Being* has thought
 it Fit, Right and Good to communicate Happiness
 to his Creatures, tho’ himself could have no Ad-
 vantage by it; may it not seem to be a Part of that
 Image of God in which he is said to have created
 Mankind, that he has made us capable of taking

Delight in doing Good to others without any Regard to our own Interest? If it be said that this *Delight* is our Reward for doing Good, and that therefore our own Happiness is the real End of our acting; let it be observed, that the Delight of doing Good is never the End in View; a benevolent Agent has no other Prospect but the Interest or Happiness of another; the Delight he finds in having obtain'd that End, is either the *Consequence* of his Benevolence, or of the Approbation of his own Mind, for having done what was right and fit, but in no Case the Motive of his acting.

Tho' the Author of the Notes will not allow, that there is any such Thing as *disinterested Benevolence* in Nature, yet he owns, † that 'tis Matter of Fact, that there are great Variety of Instances of Mens practising Virtue, without knowing that it tends to their own private Happiness, nay even when it appears destructive of it. And he argues very justly against Mr. *Hutchinson*, that this is no Proof that the *Moral Sense and publick Affections* (in his Language) are mere *Instincts* implanted in us, since they are all resolvable into *Reason*; and are undeniably cultivated and improved by making a right Use of our Faculties. But when he goes on to say, that "they are resolvable into Reason *pointing out private Happiness*, and that whenever this End is not perceived, they are to be accounted for from the *Association of Ideas*, and may properly enough be called Habits," I question whether this is reconcilable either to Reason or Matter of Fact: there are many Instances of benevolent Affections, and a disinterested Approbation of Virtue, that cannot be accounted for by any supposed *Association of Ideas*; nor does Reason direct a social Creature to think that there is nothing fit for him to aim at but his

† Prelim. Disserta.

own private Happiness ; on the contrary right Reason will inform him, that 'tis suitable to the Nature of such a Being, and worthy of Approbation, to do all the Good he can for others, whether his own Advantage is included in it or not.

Mankind is a System of Creatures that continually need one, another's Assistance, without which they could not long subsist. 'Tis therefore necessary that every one, according to his Capacity and Station, should contribute his Part towards the Good and Preservation of the whole, and avoid whatever may be detrimental to it ; for this End they are made capable of acquiring social or benevolent Affections, (probably have the Seeds of them implanted in their Nature) with a moral Sense or Conscience, that approves of virtuous Actions, and disapproves the contrary ; this plainly shews them that Virtue is the Law of their Nature, and that it must be their Duty to observe it, from whence arises *Moral Obligation*, tho' the Sanctions of that Law are unknown ; for the Consideration of what the Event of an Action may be to the Agent, alters not at all the Rule of his Duty, which is fixed in the Nature of Things. Thus, as St. *Paul* tells us, *those who had not the Law* (the revealed Law) were a Law unto themselves ; the Obligation of living suitably to a rational and social Nature was plain ; the Consequence was to be trusted to the Author of that Nature.

Thus undeniably stood the Case of moral Obligation where Revelation was not known. But our beneficent Creator, foreseeing that many would be drawn by irregular Passions to deviate from the Rule of their Duty, by which those who steadily adhered to it would be liable to great Disadvantages, determined, agreeably to his Goodness and Rectitude, to make suitable Retributions in a future State, that no one should be finally a Loser by obeying the Law of his Nature, or a Gainer by transgressing

gressing it : This Determination, it is plain, introduces no *new moral Obligation* in the usual Sense of that Word ; (and I see not why we should give up to this Writer his *arbitrary Definition* of it) on the contrary, the very Notion of Reward and Punishment implies an *antecedent Duty* or Obligation, the conforming or not conforming to which, is the only ground of Reward and Punishment : These cannot therefore be the Foundation of the Obligation ; tho' the Translator supposes all Obligation to arise solely from a Prospect of them.

When God was pleased to declare to the World this his Determination, in making known to Mankind more explicitly that the Law of their Nature was likewise *the Will* of their Creator, He brought them indeed under an *additional* Obligation to observe it, Obedience to his Will being one of the principal Fittnesses resulting from the Nature and Relations of Things : But in declaring that he would eternally *reward or punish* those who obeyed or disobeyed, he gave them only a new *Motive* to the Performance of their Duty, but no new *Foundation* of it ; the Rule, and Reason, and Obligation of Virtue, remained as before, in the immutable Nature, and necessary Relations of Things.

At the End of this long Note, the Author asks,
 “ What will become of the Obligation, in Cases
 “ where Virtue fails to produce Happiness, which
 “ must often happen in the present State ? ” (for
 in such Cases, according to his Explication of the
 Word, there can be no Obligation) “ To deduce one
 “ (continues he) from the Prospect of a future Re-
 “ ward, is having recourse to the *Will of God* to
 “ supply *Defects*—’Tis owning that the Obligation
 “ supposed to arise from the Relations of Things,
 “ is not in itself adequate and indispensable, and
 “ seems to be quite giving up that full obligatory
 “ Power of theirs, antecedent to any Reward or
 “ Punish-

“ Punishment.” But by what has been said above the inconclusiveness of this Reasoning may appear: Having recourse to the *Will of God*, and the Prospect of a *future Reward*, is not to supply the *Defects of the Obligation*, but the Defects of our Strength and Resolution to comply with it; the *Right* of obliging may be full, the Obligation indispensable, and yet there may be great need of Assistance to our Frailty, for the discharge of it in Cases of severe Trial. The Prospect of future Rewards and Punishments is allowed to be the only Motive suited to all Capacities and Conditions: And therefore no Divines have more strongly pressed the Consideration of the Will of God, and of future Retributions, than those who maintain a full obligatory Power in the Relations and fitness of Things. Dr. *Clarke* in particular constantly insists on them throughout all his admirable practical Discourses; and very judiciously refutes the Notion of those who would depreciate the Principle of practising Virtue with a View to future Rewards, as mercenary or selfish.

The assurance of equitable Retributions in another Life is of too great Importance to be neglected in any Schemes of Morality where Revelation is known; but to place all Obligation to Virtue solely on that, seems to be confounding the *Sanctions* of a Law with the *Reasons and Grounds* of it; to make *private Happiness* the only Foundation of moral Obligation, as the Author of the Notes does, is I fear setting it on a Principle, that, in Case a future State is not known, or not attended to, would leave Men free to every kind of profitable Wickedness, that they could commit with Impunity. Whilst, on the other hand, I see not how there can be any Danger in asserting, that there is an indispensable Obligation to Virtue founded on the Nature, Relations, and Fitness of Things; since that leads us to con-

clude, that it must be likewise the Will of our Creator, who gave us a Nature from whence such Relations arise, and that himself will act suitably to those necessary Relations, in every Dispensation to his Creatures through all Eternity.

Remarks upon an Essay on Moral Obligation.

The Author of this Essay, who writes on Dr. Waterland's Side, against a Reply to his Supplement, * pretends that *Moral Obligation*, as built upon the supposed Finesses of Things, must resolve at last into Conscience, or the *moral Sense*, and that the Scheme of Dr. Clarke and his Followers (which this Author opposes) is no otherwise intelligible but upon that Supposition. On this Account he has taken † a great deal of Pains to confute the Notion of an *innate moral Sense*: A Labour that might well have been spared in opposing Dr. Clarke, since there cannot easily be imagined two Schemes more different than that of founding Virtue and *Moral Obligation* on a *Moral Sense*, considered as an *innate Instinct*, and that of founding them on the Nature, Reason, and Relations of Things. These are the Objects of the Understanding, and can only be apprehended by Reasoning and Reflection, not by Sense or a *blind Instinct*. On what Grounds then can this Author be perswaded that “ if Dr. Clarke and his Followers “ had gone *deeper* in their Enquiries, they must “ have got to this *natural Instinct or moral Sense?*” This would indeed have been going much *lower*, if he means that by *deeper*. But “ some of them “ (says he) I know do readily grant it.” What do they grant, that the Nature of Virtue, or the Obligation to practise it, is founded on a *moral Sense*? If they grant this, they are no Followers of Dr.

* P. 43. † P. 30.

Clarke, having intirely departed from his Principles. But perhaps they may grant that there is such a Principle or Faculty in Man; for a *moral Sense* or *Conscience* (if these mean the same Thing) is not inconsistent with their Foundation of Virtue, and *moral Obligation*; nay, they may even maintain that it has an obliging Power; for Dr. Clarke has gone so deep in his Enquiries as to tell us, § that natural Conscience is founded on the Perception that every rational Mind necessarily has of the natural and essential Difference between Good and Evil: But 'tis sufficiently plain through all his Works, that by Conscience he does not mean a *blind Sense* or *Instinct*, but some Principle or Faculty, the Operations of which depend on the Judgment of the Understanding.

That there is such a Principle in Man, whatever it be called, or whether innate or acquired, something that distinguishes between Right and Wrong, and condemns or approves of Actions accordingly, is undeniable. Whether this is a Faculty of the Understanding, or any Thing distinct, I presume not to determine; but am inclined to think the Faculty *innate*, since it operates in some Measure on all Mankind, whether they will or will not: Tho' I allow it to be very evident that the Exercise of it, the Manner of its exerting itself, depends upon Custom, Education, or whatever Means and Opportunities it has had of being inform'd; and agree with this Writer, that *its Determinations therefore can be no certain Rule to act by, no solid Foundation for Morality*. To which I add, nor can it possibly be admitted for such, by those who with Dr. Clarke found Morality on *the immutable Nature of Things*. But as this Faculty is of great Use when duly inform'd, and rightly set on Work, they may allow . its pro-

per Place in their Scheme; their Principle is not of the *excluding* Kind, they readily admit whatever can be of *additional* Obligation, or assist to the Practice of Virtue: The Will of God, the Sanctions of his Laws, benevolent Affections, and the *moral Sense*, have each their Weight and Importance with them. They leave to their Opposers to exclude from having any Thing to do with Virtue, every Principle but their Favourites, Self-love, and Self-Interest.

This Author begins Chap. iv. (in which he is to shew that his Adversaries Scheme must resolve into an innate moral Sense) with this preliminary Remark. " 'Tis very observable (says he) that the Maintainers
 " of this natural necessary or independent Fitness
 " of Things and Actions, have constantly declined
 " letting us know what they mean by *Moral Obligation*, except a synonymous Term can be call'd
 " a Definition." But this seems to me a very groundless Observation. Dr. Clarke and his Followers use that Term in the plain well known common Acceptation of it; if they have not defin'd it, 'tis perhaps because they could find no Words more clear or intelligible than itself; nor have I met with any Definition of it that has not rather obscured it; a plain Man, of an ordinary Capacity, readily understands what is meant when he is told, that he is *obliged* to do to every one as he would be done by; he apprehends that he *ought*, that it is his *Duty* to do so; if these are *synonymous* Terms, who can help it, when no other can be found to explain it better? If it be said that tho' a Man may know *what* is meant by his being obliged to do a Thing, that will not make him understand *why* he is so, or on what Grounds he is under such an Obligation; this is very true, but then this is not the Defect imputed by the Author of the Essay to the Writers he opposes. He cannot pretend that they have declined to let
 us

us know what they understand by the *Foundation* of moral Obligation ; for it is their plain Declarations of that, which he so strenuously contends against. What is it then that they have declined to do ? Truly nothing that I know of, unless it be an Omission not to have put their *Grounds* of moral Obligation into a Definition of the Term, as their Opposers do, and they might with as good Reason have done. They might have told us that by moral Obligation they mean a Necessity of Action arising from the Nature and Relations of Things ; which would have been as just an Explication of the Term, as that which Archbishop *King's* Translator, and after him this Author gives us, when they say, that by moral Obligation they mean a Necessity of Action, arising from a Prospect of obtaining Happiness or avoiding Misery. But in a Controversy, about what is the true original Ground of moral Obligation, this would have been in them, as I take it to be in these Authors, a plain *begging the Question in Debate* : An Error which did not fall in my Way to take Notice of, in my Remarks on the Translator's Notes.

However, our present Author gives us the Reason from whence he concludes that he has hit on the true Meaning of moral Obligation. “ Before it can
“ be determined (says he) what can bring such a
“ Necessity upon an Agent, as is consistent with
“ perfect Liberty, which *moral Obligation* is sup-
“ posed to do, it must first be known what it is he
“ would chuse or refuse as an intelligent free Agent ;
“ and as it is self-evident, that to every *sensible* Being
“ Happiness is preferable to Misery, and conse-
“ quently that Happiness must be his Choice, and
“ Misery his Aversion it is plain, that *moral Ob-*
“ *ligation* can be founded upon this Principle Only.

This may be a true Conclusion, if there are any intelligent free Agents that are to be considered as *sensible Beings only* ; but that seems to be a very partial

partial Consideration of *Man*. He is a *rational* and *social* as well as a *sensible* Being, and may, nay must be under some Obligations as such; let Man be allowed as a sensible Being to chuse natural or sensible Good, and even to be under a *moral Obligation* of so doing; but let him likewise be allowed in his other Capacities to have other Views, and to be under other Obligations: A rational Being ought to act suitably to the Reason and Nature of Things; A social Being ought to promote the Good of others; an Approbation of these Ends is unavoidable, a Regard to them implied in the very Nature of such Beings, which must therefore bring on them the strongest *moral Obligations*. To ask why a rational Being should chuse to act according to Reason, or why a social Being should desire the Good of others, is full as absurd as to ask why a sensible Being should chuse Pleasure rather than Pain. If such a Question is to be answered, the Answer will be the same in either Case, these Ends are to be chosen because suitable to the Nature of Beings with such and such Capacities. To act contrary to the Reason Relations and Fitness of Things, may not improperly be called the *Pain* of rational Beings. Vice would naturally be the *Misery*, and Virtue the *Happiness* of such Beings, if there was no Reward or Punishment appointed for them.

But this kind of refined Happiness, these Writers seem to have no Notion of. This I presume is not the Happiness the Author of the Essay has in View, when he † tells us “ that in the Case of
 “ moral Ideas, to say it signifies nothing whe-
 “ ther I am to be Gainer or Loser, seems to me
 “ to be *banishing Morality* out of the World, as
 “ all the Relation in moral Ideas that I can possibly
 “ discern, is the Relation of certain Actions to the
 “ Agents Happiness.” If this Gentleman cannot
 possibly discern the Relation or Fitness of Gratitude

to a Benefactor, of Fidelity to Trust, of Relief to a miserable Object, unless the Agent is to be a Gainer by these Virtues, I believe no Body else can possibly discern, how requiring the Practice of such moral Virtues, without a Regard to Self-interest, can seem to be *banishing Morality* out of the World; If he had said it seem'd to be *banishing Happiness* out of the World, there might have been some more Appearance of Ground for it; tho' I dare venture to engage that neither of them will be in Danger by it.

I readily grant however, in Answer to this Author's Question,* that the Relation of Things to our own Happiness, as *sensible Beings*, is a very material Relation, worth examining into; but it does not follow, that there is no other worth considering; which seems to be the Judgment of all this Class of Writers; and very particularly of the Author of the Essay, as appears by many Passages in it, of which the following is not the least worth noting.

If (says he) we must talk in the Language of “ these Advocates for Fitnesses, we should call the
“ Fitnesses which they speak of partial Fitnesses,
“ or rather *Unfitnesses*, as wanting the most essential Part of the Fitness of an action, *viz.* Beneficialness to the Agent himself; God's Command supplies that Part of Fitness before wanting, and makes it now wise and fitting to chuse
“ what before could not have been *wisely* chosen,
“ for what is not fit upon the whole, is *really*
“ *unfit*.” This Writer seems to have had a Mind to outdo all who had gone before him on his Side of the Controversy; they have contented themselves with maintaining, that Man would have been under *no Obligation* to practise Virtue, if God had not promised a Reward for it; none of them that I

* P. 58.

have met with have ventured to affirm, that without such a Prospect the Practice of Virtue would have been *foolish* and *unfit*. This seems to be a peculiarity of the Author of the Essay. It was indeed sufficiently contrary to our natural Notions of the *essential* Difference of Good and Evil to affirm, that moral Virtues are in their own Nature *indifferent* till God commanded them, and that he might if he pleased have made the direct contrary to have been our Duty, as some of the Writers who found Virtue solely on the *Will of God* have maintained. But if it was not only *indifferent*, but *unwise* and *really unfit* for a moral Agent to be just, to be grateful, faithful to a Trust, or any way beneficent to his Fellow Creatures, before God commanded it, as this adventurous Writer asserts; on what Grounds can God be supposed to have commanded it at all? Or how can this be made to agree with what himself had § before affirm'd? *viz.* That God could not have given to Man any other Rule of Action but the Law of Virtue. "If, says he, God determined to create Man, that is, a rational and social Being, 'tis impossible or rather absurd that he should give him any other Rule of Action, than what he has given him; 'tis impossible he should have made it his Duty to act unjustly, ungratefully, &c. or to live viciously, intemperately, &c. because this would have destroyed the very End and Design of his Being, and frustrated that very Scheme which God himself had purposed." One would think the Author was arguing here for the other Side of the Question, that the Fitness of moral Virtue, of Justice, Gratitude, Temperance, &c. and the Necessity of these to the well-being of Mankind, did not depend upon the Will or Command of God, but upon the Nature of the Things them-

selves; (which, by the Way, is all the Necessity and Independence contended for, by Dr. *Clarke* and his Followers.) But if it is granted, that the Practice of moral Virtue was so *necessary* as is here said, that without it the very End and Design of God's creating Man, yea his whole Scheme, had been *frustrated*, how could it have been *unfit* for Man to practise it *antedecently* to God's Command? It could never be unfit or unwise for Man to act with the same Views his Maker had, to pursue what was *necessary* to the well-being of the Creation. This sure must have been right and good, tho' there had been no Command about it. Nor can a wise and good Being make a Thing that is *really unfit* in itself, the Subject of his Command. Virtue therefore does not acquire its Fitness from *Command*: But God commanded it, because he saw that it was absolutely Right and Fit, the indispensable Duty of a rational and social Being.

Tho' our Author allows this, agreeably to the Sentiments of Archbishop *King's* Translator, (whom he closely copies in every Thing but his Prudence) tho' I say they both allow, that moral Virtue is the necessary Consequence of the Nature of Man, they notwithstanding maintain, not only that *moral Obligation*, but that *moral Virtue* too is founded on the Will of God. But with such Inconsistencies their Principles seem to me to abound. The great Argument by which they support their Notion is thus express in the Essay, * “ Every Thing, every Relation, “ every Fitness, is owing to God's Will in its first “ Instance, He sees at one View through all the “ Causes Effects and Consequences of Things, and “ therefore in that very Act of Volition whereby “ he determines the Existence of certain Things, “ he determines their Modes, Relations, and every “ thing else belonging to them; and therefore if “ Morality be supposed to flow *immediately* from

* P. 22.

“ those Relations, yet still it must be *ultimately* resolved into the *Will of God*, the Author of Nature, as its first and true Foundation.” To this I answer, that if God saw with one View, (as he undeniably did from all Eternity) the *necessary* Relation of moral Virtue to a rational and social Being, saw that he *could not possibly* give any other Rule of Action to such a Being, (as this Writer asserts) if according to that View he determined to create Man, then Morality may indeed be *ultimately* resolved into the divine *Understanding*, (that is the Nature of Things as they exist in it) but cannot be resolved into the *Will of God*, in any other Sense, than that it depended solely on his Will, whether any Beings should exist whose Nature required the Practice of Morality, which I believe no Body denies.

But the *Will of God* must be supposed at any Rate to be the Foundation of *moral Virtue*, by those who will allow no other Ground of *moral Obligation* but Rewards and Punishments; by those who, with this Author, can see no Fitness in any Action that brings no Advantage to the Agent; all Concern for the Good of others is with him unreasonable and unaccountable; every generous benevolent Action, would be *Madness and Folly*, setting aside the Consideration of a future Reward. † Without that, he says, “ no single Reason can be given why one ought to suffer the *least* Degree of Pain to remove from another the *greatest*; ” and Page 64 he puts this Question “ What can induce a Man to communicate Happiness to another rather than not? What is the exciting Reason? You must either assign one, or tell me ’tis preferable in itself as an ultimate End, and then “ the *Pleasure of doing it* will be the true Reason;

† P. 61. 66.

“ now this, says he, is recurring to a moral Sense.” Not at all. Tho’ Pleasure may be generally consequent upon doing a right or morally good Action, that is not the true Reason of doing it, is not the End the Agent has in View; the Rectitude or Goodness of the Action makes it preferable in itself, and is the *exciting Reason*. To ask why a Man should chuse to do Good rather than not, or rather than do Evil, is to ask why Good is better than Evil, and why a Man perceives it to be so. That a Man should chuse to do what his Understanding perceives to be good, worthy of Approbation, and consequently of Choice, carries its own Reason with it. *If no single Reason can be given* for such a Conduct, it must be upon the same Grounds that no Proof can be given that it is Day-light when the Sun shines, if any one should take it in his Head to deny it; not on Account of the Uncertainty or Obscurity of the Thing, but because no Evidence can be stronger than the Glare of its own Light.

’Tis surprising to observe, that judicious, and (as I am willing to believe) well-meaning Men, can argue against the common Sentiments of Humanity, contradict the most natural Perceptions of their own Minds, and admit the greatest Inconsistencies into their Schemes, to support a favourite Hypothesis.

The Author of the Essay, according to the general Scheme of the Writers on that Side, (who are for taking away every Motive to Virtue but Self-interest) * denies that there are any benevolent or disinterested Affections natural to Man; but as he cannot deny that there are some *Appearances* of such Affections, and that Men are apt to think they find them in themselves; he accounts for this, after Archbishop King’s Translator, from an early *Association of Ideas*. “ The great Mr. Locke, (he says)

* P. 35.

“ was the first who gave any Hint towards a Solution of this Phænomenon in Human Nature, and his Scheme has lately been improved upon, in a preliminary Dissertation to an *English Version of Archbishop King’s Origin of Evil.*” Which *improvement* is adopted by our Author.

I dare say when that great Man wrote his very useful Chapter of the *Association of Ideas*, in which he so rationally accounts for the groundless Fears, *unnatural Aversions*, whimsical Affections, and obstinate Adherence to Error, observable among Men, by an *accidental Association of Ideas*, not at all united in Nature, he little imagined any *Hint* could be taken from thence, to account in the same Way for the most reasonable Affections, the most *suited to our Nature*; so general, and even so necessary, that if they were wanting, it might justly be esteem’d a Defect, in the forming of a social Being.

But our Author can supply this *Defect* with his *Association of Ideas*. ’Tis but to suppose that †
 “ at first a Man perceives or is taught from his Infancy, that as he lives in a social State, so his Happiness is necessarily connected with that of other Men, that the Esteem of others is useful to him, this Esteem only to be procured by beneficent Actions, and an inward Concern manifested by his outward Actions for the Good of others. Hence he desires the Happiness of others, and joyns Pleasure to that Idea, — thus the Association is form’d, — thus Benevolence is rooted in our Minds, and forgetting how it came there, we are apt to think it *natural*, and act upon it as a Principle intirely distinct from Self-love.

This Detail of an *unnatural* Progress of the Mind in acquiring benevolent Affections, will scarce satisfy any one who consults *Nature*, or what in

Fact passes in the World, or in his own Mind; however plausible it may seem to a speculative Recluse, shut up in his Study only to *imagine* by what Means such Affections might possibly arise. Our Author thinks they so wholly depend on this *imaginary Association*, that he tells * us, that “ they who
“ are not sensible how nearly private and public Happiness are united, (as a great Part of Mankind
“ ’tis to be fear’d are not) have no benevolent Affections; but are indifferent to the Happiness or
“ Misery, the Virtue or Vice of every one else.”

I am persuaded this Remark was made in the Study, with the above *Detail*, without looking into what really passes in the World; for tho’ it may be pretty true that the Bulk of Mankind have no distinct Notions of the Connection of public and private Happiness, that is, they form no general Propositions about it, and perhaps such Kind of Maxims enter into the Education of very few even of the better Sort, yet ’tis far from being true, that for want of this they have no *benevolent Affections*. If these depended on such Notions or Instructions as this Author has imagined, ’tis to be fear’d they would be much rarer than we find them. When we examine the real Fact, those whose Understandings are least improved, and who reason least, will perhaps be often found to have the strongest Affections. Men need not be *taught*, they *feel*, that their Happiness is not independent on that of others; they find themselves unavoidably involved, or affected with the Miseries of others, and can form no Idea of Happiness into which some Kind of Communication with others does not enter. The very Supposition of being happy alone, without Regard to any Person in the World, or whilst all about him were miserable, must appear a Contradiction to a

social Nature: But this Dependence of his Happiness on that of others, is the *Effect* of his benevolent Affections, not the *Cause or Ground* of them.

Can any one think that the Fondness of a Mother, and her tender Concern for the Happiness of her Child, is owing to her *having perceived, or been taught from her Infancy that her Happiness is necessarily connected with that of others, that their Esteem is useful to her, this Esteem only to be procured by beneficent Actions, &c.* How far unequal to such an Effect are Reflections of this Nature! The Connection of her Happiness with that of her Child, must be owing solely to her kind Affections, an Association of Nature's forming, quite different from that which Mr. Locke has observed of Ideas accidentally united, that have *no Connection in Nature*. Is it possible, from the Hypothesis of these Writers, to account for Parents sacrificing a great Part of their Ease and Happiness in this World, to provide for the Welfare of their Children; and sometimes by Methods that allow them no Title to a Reward for it in the next? What Desire of Esteem, what secret Aim at their own Happiness, can lurk at the Bottom of this?

But it seems we have not the whole of their Scheme at once, the Parts of it are not consistent enough to be shewn together; Benevolence, in the View wherein it has hitherto appear'd, is nothing but a secret Aim at *our own* Happiness; but we are now to have a Prospect of it as intirely disinterested. "We maintain || (says "the Author of the Essay) that in this social State "Benevolence or disinterested Affection is a proper "*Principle of Action*, and how it comes to be so, "we have shewn before; — nay, we farther maintain, "that a disinterested Benevolence is *rational, commendable*, and indeed the very Thing that gives

“ the Name or Character to virtuous Actions among
 “ Mankind.” This he pretends is not in the least in-
 consistent with what he has said before of *private Happi-
 ness* being the *ultimate End* and *true Principle of
 Action*; “ for doing Good to others (says he) is a
 “ necessary Means to *that End*, these Means are
 “ valuable, therefore desired, approved, hence by
 “ Habit loved; but the Object of Love is a real
 “ End, or desired for its own Sake, without an *im-
 “ mediate* View to any Thing else. This is what
 “ *we mean* by disinterested Benevolence, ’tis not ne-
 “ cessary that the Agent should have no *remote* View
 “ towards *his own Happiness in the Main*.” All I
 can gather of these Gentlemen’s Meaning, in whose
 Name this Author speaks, from his Account of it
 here, compar’d with what has been before quoted
 from him, is, that Men first deceive the World,
 and then *themselves*, with an *Appearance* of disinte-
 rested Benevolence, to gain Esteem, and the Cha-
 racter of Virtuous, tho’ there is really no such Thing
 in Nature. But if this Scheme were true, how could
 it come to pass that all Mankind should expect from
 one another what none of them has? How did they
 agree in making the *Name and Character* of virtuo-
 us Actions to consist in what they all must know had
 not a Being? Why should they not rather esteem
 one another for doing beneficent Actions upon an
 avow’d Principle of Self-interest, if that were really
 the only *natural and reasonable Motive of Action*,
 as these Gentlemen professedly maintain?

But it is at last pretended that upon their Prin-
 ciples a disinterested Benevolence is *rational and com-
 mendable*, which was before said to be *Madness, Folly,
 and unfit*, as wanting the most essential Part of
Fitness, Beneficialness to the Agent. Doing Good
 to others is now become, an *Object of Love, a real
 End, or desired for its own Sake*; tho’ but two Pages
 before it was ask’d, *what can induce a Man to commu-*

nicate Happiness to another rather than not? And his Adversaries affirming it to be *preferable in itself as an ultimate End*, is exploded as *recurring to the moral Sense*. These Passages seem to me *absolute Inconsistencies*; but if our Author can find a Way to reconcile them in his Scheme, it may help to reconcile him, at the same Time, to those who, more consistently with their own Principles, maintain Virtue, Rectitude, or the Fitness of Things, to be *an Object of Love*, and as such, *a real End desirable for its own Sake*. And he may come to a better Understanding of this *enthusiastic unintelligible Language*, which he finds Fault with in them, since himself begins to talk at the same Rate, tho' at the Hazard of overthrowing the Doctrine he is labouring to support.

Several of the Writers in this Controversy, argue against the Followers of Dr. Clarke's Doctrine, from the *ill Use* they pretend has been made of it; tho' nothing can be more fallacious than to condemn a Principle for the *Abuse* of it, or for Consequences *falsely* drawn from it, which the most sacred and uncontested Truths cannot be secure against.

The Author of the Essay, in particular, ¶ reasons thus: " 'Tis easy to see what *pernicious Tendency* the Scheme of independent Fitnesses is of, from what Use has been made of it by a late Advocate for Deism; his whole Book is built upon this Principle, That Duty and Obligation arises from the Nature and Relation of Things, which are so independent that no Command can alter them, or make that Fit which is in itself Unfit; and consequently Man must always have the same Religion." This is a very false Consequence, from a very true Principle. Our Author is so charitable as to believe that neither of the Persons he writes against, were aware of this Consequence, but

“ he can’t see how they will get off it, if the Pre-
 “ mises are granted; because what is once Fit in it-
 “ self, must be always *Fit in itself*, not having
 “ Relation to any *End*, and not being alterable by
 “ any Change of *Circumstances* whatever.

But who has maintained such *independent* Fit-
 nesses as these Writers have imagined? It is affirm’d
 indeed that there is a Fitness in Things indepen-
 dent of any *positive Institution*, and of all *Conside-
 ration of Reward and Punishment*; and on that Ac-
 count they are said to be Fit in themselves, or
 Fit without being commanded. But how does it fol-
 low that they are independent of every Thing else,
 or that they have no Relation to any End? This
 is as false a Consequence as that of the late Advo-
 cate for Deism; and yet the Premises from which
 both *pretend* to be drawn are undeniably true, even
 from these Authors own Concessions. For tho’ they
 maintain that Virtue is founded ultimately on the
 Will of God, they yet own (as has been before ob-
 served, how consistently need not here be said)
 that “ when God determin’d to create a rational
 “ and social Being, it was *impossible* he should
 “ give him any other *Rule of Action* than what he
 “ has given him.” The moral Law then is equally
 allow’d to be *necessary and unalterable* upon either
 Scheme; and if it be a true Consequence, that
 therefore *Man must always have the same Religion*,
 it follows as much from the Concessions of these
 Authors, as from the Principles of those they op-
 pose; and therefore cannot reasonably be urged by
 them, as an Argument of the *pernicious Tendency*
 of their Adversaries Doctrine, since it would equally
 involve their own. But in Truth it is no just Con-
 sequence of either.

It is undeniably true, that what was at first a Law
 to Man necessarily resulting from his Nature, is
still, and always must continue so to be. But the

Error, of the Author of *Christianity as old as the Creation*, lay, in not seeing, or being unwilling to see, that notwithstanding this, some Change might happen in the Circumstances of Man, as a free Agent, from whence new Duties, new Wants, might arise, or new Assistances be requisite: And the Mistake, of the Author of the Essay, lies, in supposing that independent Fittests (as he affects to call them, tho' improperly) have no Relation to any End, and are not alterable by any Change of Circumstances. Whereas the Fitness of moral Actions has always a Respect to some End, and is intirely *dependent* on the Nature and Relation of Things, considered in their various *Circumstances*; the same Action may be fit and right in some Circumstances of Things, which would be unfit in others; for an Action is then only morally fit, when it is suitable to the Agent, and the Object, according to their respective Relations and Circumstances.

If then any Change has happened in Man, that introduced new Wants, and required new Assistances, *Revelation* might be necessary to supply them, notwithstanding the false Reasoning of that Author; and new Duties, *new Fittests* might arise, notwithstanding the Mistakes of This. *Repentance*, for Instance, is a Fitness introduced among Mankind by Sin, the Sinner standing in a different Relation to God, from that which he had as an innocent Person: But this does not hinder the moral Law from retaining its *immutable Nature*, or the Fitness of moral Actions from being *independent of positive Appointment*, or of Rewards and Punishments; their Fitness resulting *necessarily* from the Nature, Relations, and Circumstances of Things. Nor would there be any Absurdity in saying, that Repentance for Sin was *eternally fit in itself*.

The Opposers of Dr. *Clarke* in general are, I find, greatly prejudiced against the Word *Fitness*.

Let

Let us consider it therefore a little more particularly. Absolute Fitness, or *Fit in itself*, is an Absurdity with them. The Term is Relative, they say, and must be unintelligible when used without Relation to an *End*; (for it is a Mistake common to all the Writers on that Side, to suppose that the Words *Fit in itself* are meant to exclude all Manner of *End*, or Relation to any Thing;) and some of them, particularly the Author of the Essay, complain of a *Mist and Confusion in the Language of the Advocates for Fitnesses*. Perhaps there may be some Ambiguity in applying that Term indifferently to the Foundation of Virtue in the *Abstract*, and to the Practice of it by moral Agents, which may have given Ground for such a Complaint: But as these Authors, in whatever Respect they speak of the *Fitness of Things*, have express'd their Meaning with great Clearness, it seems a needless Trifling to cavil so much about Words. Those who speak of the abstract Idea of Virtue in general, as a Conformity to the Reason of Things, and the proper ultimate End of moral Agents, use the Word *Fit*, when so applied, in an *absolute* Sense; for, as a * fine Writer upon these Subjects says, why must this Term be confined to a *relative* Signification, any more than the *æquum* and *rectum* of the Ancients? But when they speak of the Practice of particular Virtues, tho' every right Action may be said to be absolutely *Fit in itself*, yet this cannot be so understood as to exclude such Actions from having any Relation to an *End*; for instance, if it should be said that to relieve a distressed Person is *Fit in itself*, could this be reasonably understood to mean that it is *Fit* without a Relation to any *End*? Or where would be the Difficulty to apprehend that the Goodness of the *End* made the Action right and fit in it-

* Mr. Balguy, Author of several Tracts on these Subjects.

self, *i. e.* fit without being commanded, fit without a Prospect of Advantage to the Agent? What is there *unintelligible* in this? The absolute Fitness of Virtue in general consists in its Tendency to promote the Order, Harmony, and Happiness of the World; and every particular Virtue, (such at least as respects our Fellow-creatures) tends to some Good or other towards the Object of it; but the immediate, the proper End of a Moral Agent, is the Rectitude or moral Fitness of the Action, whatever other Ends that Action may respect; in this it is the Mind finds a Complacence: And therefore the Followers of Dr. *Glarke* often speak of Virtue itself as a real End, amiable and desirable for its own Sake; and that sometimes with a Rapture that may seem to favour more of the Enthusiasm of Poetry, than of the Sedateness of Philosophy, tho' there is a real and solid Foundation for it.

This their Opposers call *the Error of the Stoicks*, and accuse them of falling into the same Folly, of mistaking *Means* for *Ends*. But these Authors mistake the Error of the *Stoicks*, it did not consist in taking Means for Ends, but in a *partial* Consideration of human Nature: An Error which themselves have fallen into, tho' in another Instance. They consider Man only as he is a sensible Being, and conclude that he can have no other Views but to his own Happiness as such: The *Stoicks*, on the other hand, considered Man as a rational and social Being *only*, and as such, they rightly judged that Virtue must be his *End* and his Happiness; but then they neglected to consider that he was likewise a *sensible* Being, liable to many external Accidents, to Pains and Sufferings, under which Virtue alone with all its Excellence could not be sufficient for his Happiness. This Consideration might have led them to the Knowledge of a future State, where Virtue would meet with no Impediments; but whilst they were ignorant or un-

certain

certain of *that*, and yet plainly saw that Virtue had an intrinsic Goodness, independent of any external Advantages or Disadvantages that might attend it, they were forced into the Absurdities of maintaining that *Pain was no Evil*, that a Wise-man was Master of his own Happiness, and that Virtue was itself a sufficient Compensation for all the Sufferings in the World. This was the real, and, if the Expression may be allowed, the *noble Error* of the *Stoicks*.

But in this Dr. *Clarke*, and those who adhere to his Principles, having the Advantage of a better Light, have been far from following them; they have, with great Strength of Reason and Variety of Argument, insisted on the Necessity of having Recourse to the Expectation of Rewards and Punishments in another Life, for the Support of Virtue under the Temptations and Calamities of *This*. They tell us indeed that Virtue will be a great Part of the Happiness of that future State; and if their Opposers would a little refine or exalt their Notions of Happiness, (which surely does not wholly consist in *sensible Pleasure*) they might perhaps come to see that there can be no Absurdity in making *that* to be the *End* of rational Agents *here*, the Perfection of which may probably be in a great Measure their *Happiness hereafter*.

Some Observations on a Pamphlet entitled, The Eternal Obligation of Natural Religion, &c. being an Answer to Dr. Wright's Remarks upon Mr. Mole's Sermon.

This Author, who stiles himself *Phil-orthos*, is an Instance, that happening to be on the Side of Truth does not secure warm Heads from running into Extravagancies in the Defence of it. His chief Design is to maintain that Morality is founded on the eternal

nal

nal Truth and the immutable Nature of Things. But in order to this, instead of considering those eternal Truths, and immutable Natures, in the View that some eminent * Authors have done, as *Proofs* of the Existence of an *eternal Mind*, there being no other intelligible Support of eternal *abstract Ideas*; he has fallen into the unintelligible Whimfies of those who assert that *universal Natures*, *abstract Ideas*, and the moral *Differences* of Things, are real Entities subsisting of themselves, independent of any Mind. But as these visionary Gentlemen have not been pleased to tell us the Place of their Residence, I fear those who go to look for them, will be at a great Loss where to find them.

However, according to this Author, their Existence is rather more necessary and certain than the Existence of God himself, for he says, || “ whether
“ there were a Divinity or not, any Creator, Crea-
“ ture, or not, such moral Entities would always sub-
“ sist, and be just the same that they are now.” But if these moral Entities, the moral Natures and Differences of Things, refer, as this Author † says they do, to *possible Existencies*, he should have consider’d, that by supposing there were no Divinity, no Creator, he supposes away the only Ground of *possible Existence*; if there was no Divinity there could be no possible Existences, and consequently no Truths concerning them.

In maintaining these self-existent moral Entities, this Author has three main Arguments; § *first*, “ that
“ to speak of abstract Ideas arising from any Mind,
“ is a flat Contradiction in Terms, — because *we*
“ *understand* by them such moral Entities as are self-
“ existent, or that do not depend upon any Being
“ for their Existence, but may be considered ab-
“ stractly or separately without the Consideration

* Dr. Cudworth and Mr. Norris. || Page 15. † Page 31.
§ Page 27.

“ of any Subject: and therefore to say that they
 “ must arise from the Mind of God, is to destroy
 “ *our* Notion of them; or to say that they are both
 “ abstract, and not abstract, at the same Time;
 “ which is absurd.”

Answer. Who can help it, if asserting Truth destroys Peoples *false* Notions of Things? Where can Ideas exist but in some Mind? And whatever this Writer *understands* by *abstract* Ideas, what *should* be understood by them but the general Natures of Things, *considered by some Mind*, separately from particular Existencies? For the Nature of Things is never in *Fact* separate, or abstracted from particular Existences; that is only done by an Act of the Mind: The *Consideration* of them, separate from any Subject, is that which makes them *abstract* Ideas, and their being *in the Mind* that abstracts them from their Subject cannot make them at the same Time *not* abstract. To speak of them therefore as existing *out* of Mind, may with much more Reason be said to be a *flat Contradiction in Terms*.

His second Argument is, “ that whatever Ideas
 “ did arise in the Mind of God, before the Crea-
 “ tion of the World, must be supposed to have had
 “ some moral Nature or Entity for their Object,
 “ otherwise they could not be Ideas or Images of
 “ any Thing, but mere *Resveries*, floating at
 “ random, and corresponding to nothing at all.”

Answer. If God perceives by *Ideas*, there is no need of looking out of the *divine Understanding* to find Objects for them: Abstract Ideas are not Images of any Thing without the Mind, as Ideas of *sensible* Things are supposed to be, but are form'd by the Mind itself: *possible* Existencies are real Objects to it, and tho' there is nothing in Being to represent them, they are no *Resveries*, if they correspond to some Power adequate to the Production of them. Before all Creation, God undoubtedly had Ideas of all *possible* *Natures*, not by looking out of himself for Objects of
 them,

them, but by contemplating his own infinite Power and Wisdom; for he must necessarily see all the Objects and the whole Extent of his own Power. But to imagine that whilst Things were only in *Possibility*, their general Natures and essential Differences had an actual Existence, I know not where, *out* of the divine Mind; that they were self-existent Objects of the divine Ideas, tho' themselves are allowed to be only Ideas; seems indeed to be a mere *Refverie*, *corresponding to Nothing at all*; and which I doubt if our Author can form any *Image* of. If he can, I should be glad to be inform'd what Sort of Entities the *Differences* of Things are. The *essential Difference* between a Circle and a Square, an Angel and a Man, or between a moral Good and Evil, I allow to be eternal, immutable, and independent of any Will; but cannot comprehend this to mean any Thing else, than that it was eternally true that none of these Things are the same with those from which they essentially differ; or can be made so by any Will. But that their Differences should be something subsisting distinctly from the Things themselves, real self-existent Entities, or, in plain English, *real Beings*, is I think utterly inconceivable.

Nor is there any Occasion for such an unintelligible Supposition, to support the Truth which this Author chiefly designs to maintain; the eternal and immutable Nature of Things; their necessary Relations, and essential Differences, unalterable by any Will, are sufficiently secur'd by being in the divine Understanding, eternally and unchangeably what they are. If God sees the possible Existence of a Triangle, he sees that it must *necessarily* be different from a Circle, and that he cannot will it to be the same; for to will a Thing to be the same with that from which it is essentially different, is a Contradiction, and therefore no Object of Power.

His

His third Argument is, “ That, † if the
 “ moral Natures and Differences of Things did
 “ primarily *arise* from the *Mind* of God, or if his
 “ *Mind* were the Foundation or Support of them ;
 “ he must as naturally will Evil as Good, and
 “ approve of Vice and Virtue alike. There is no
 “ avoiding this Consequence (says he) unless it can
 “ be prov’d that there may be a Difference, with-
 “ out different Ideas or Objects.” In the same
 Paragraph he expresses his Argument thus, “ If
 “ the Nature of moral Good, or of Truth, did
 “ wholly *arise* from the divine *Will*, then the Na-
 “ ture of moral Evil and of Falshood by Parity
 “ of Reason must arise from it, and be equally
 “ conformable to it.”

Here he quite changes the State of the Supposi-
 tion, and whatever Consequences he may draw * of
rank Epicurism, or *downright Manicheism*, from
 supposing the moral Nature and Truth of Things
 to arise from the divine *Will*, they no way concern
 those who assert these Things to have been eternally
 in the divine *Mind*. If this Author takes these
 two Suppositions to be the same, he very much
 mistakes them. But indeed I cannot guess what he
 understands by the moral Nature of Things *arising*
from or in the divine Mind, when he draws so
 absurd a Consequence from it. The Expression it-
 self I think very exceptionable, as it seems to im-
 ply Things coming to the Mind of God, which
 were not always there ; but if he means by it what
 sober Writers mean, who maintain that the abstract
 Natures or Ideas of all Things were eternally in the
 divine Mind, or that God eternally perceived in
 his own comprehensive Understanding, the moral
 Natures of Things to be what they are, I see not
 how it will follow from thence that *God must as*

† P. 28.

* P. 29.

naturally will Evil as Good, and approve of Vice and Virtue alike. There is no avoiding this (he says) *unless there may be a Difference without different Ideas or Objects.* But what ground is there to imagine, that because Good and Evil are equally perceived by the divine *Mind*, that therefore he has not *different Ideas* of them, or that they must be equally *conformable to his Will*? How wild a Consequence is this! Our Author sure knows of no Distinction between the divine *Understanding* and the divine *Will*. Let him consider, that if God saw before the Creation the possible Existence of an intelligent *Free Agent*, he must see that the Idea of such a Being necessarily implies a Power of chusing either to act suitably to the Nature of Things, and agreeably to his Will, which is moral Good, or to act unsuitably to both, which is moral Evil. These Ideas must be essentially different in his Mind, and their being equally perceived by him, can by no Rule of Logic or Metaphysics infer, that they are equally conformable to his *Will*, or equally approved by him. How far this Reasoning may affect those who maintain, that Truth and Falshood, Good and Evil, depend on the *mere Will* of God, I need not enquire: But it is a sufficient Defence against that erroneous Notion, to shew, that these Things must necessarily be, from all Eternity, in the divine *Understanding* immutably the same. We need not have Recourse to unintelligible Self-existent Entities, *abstract Ideas*, that yet are *Objects* of Ideas independent of any *Mind*; and which I am persuaded no rational Mind can comprehend.

The same Author, if I remember right, (for I have not his Performance by me at present) has run into another Extravagance, tho' in maintaining a solid Truth; affecting to talk of God as under a moral *Ob- ligation* of making Nature and the essential Difference of Things the *Rule* of his Actions; with many daring

daring and unusual Expressions, which must give great Offence to those who have accustomed themselves to join with the Term *Obligation*, the Idea of a *superior Will*, and of Reward and Punishment: Since it will not only appear to them an Absurdity, but the highest Irreverence, when applied to the supreme Being; and therefore ought in Prudence to be avoided.

The Truth which this Author should, and which perhaps he did mean, has been asserted by the best Writers on these Subjects; but then they did it with Decency and Dignity. They did not subject the supreme Being to rule his Actions, by imaginary Self-existences that have no Dependence on him: Acting in Conformity to moral Truth is, with them, acting in Conformity to *himself*, in whom all essential Truth exists. And I think it can no Way derogate from him to assert, that the Perfection of the divine Nature *obliges* him to act conformably to the essential Difference of Things, because acting contrary to them would be an Imperfection; it is the same as acting contrary to Goodness, Justice, Truth, or, in one Word, to Rectitude, which every one, who allows the immutable Nature of these Things, readily owns to be inconsistent with absolute Perfection.

And if the supreme Being may be thus *obliged* by his own essential Perfections, to act conformably to the immutable Nature of Things, on the same Grounds it is maintained, that every rational Being must be *obliged* to act suitably to his Perceptions of those Things; because in doing otherwise, he must fall short of that Degree of *Perfection*, and consequently of Happiness, which belongs to his Nature: For the Happiness of every Being is dependent on, and in Proportion to the Perfection which belongs to it.

This Consideration leads me to reflect, that the Writers on the other Side, who maintain that nothing can induce *moral Obligation*, but Rewards and Punishments annex'd to the Law of a Superior, can only mean, that if there was no such Expectation, should Men disregard the Perfection of their Nature, fall from their moral Character, and forfeit the Happiness of rational Beings, by chusing to act contrary to the Reason and Truth of Things, they may do it with Impunity. And that indeed is very true. But does it follow, that there is nothing *wrong* in such a Choice? Is it not unsuitable to and unworthy of such a Being, and inconsistent with the true Happiness of a reasonable Nature? And is Virtue nothing but mere aiming at Reward, or a Care to avoid Punishment? I do not know what Notions the Partisans of that Doctrine can have of Virtue and moral Goodness, whilst they talk of it as nothing but a Regard of *Interest*. Could they think any one a virtuous and truly good Man, who would willingly counteract his Sense of Right and Wrong, and all the Dictates of his Reason from the Nature and Fitness of Things, if he might do it with Impunity? I am persuaded they could not; the *natural* Sentiments of their Hearts, I doubt not, get the better of their *artificial* Schemes; and whilst they contend that nothing can *oblige* them to do just or kind Actions, but the Prospect of a Reward, they feel the Charms of Rectitude and Benevolence determine them to act independent of other Views, with all the Force of *moral Obligation*.

Eternal Truth! instruct us so to learn thy *perfect Will*, in the essential Difference of Good and Evil, that aspiring to perfect our Nature *here*, by a Conformity thereto, we may be qualified for that blessed State *hereafter*, which thou hast promised as the *Reward*, and which is itself *the Perfection of Virtue*.

Remarks

*Remarks on some Passages of the first Book of
the divine Legation of Moses.*

Since I drew up the foregoing Remarks, I have met with the second Edition of the *divine Legation*, in which I find a great deal upon the *Foundation of Morality and of Obligation*, which either was not in the first Edition, from whence I have quoted a just Observation relating to those Subjects, or I did not then advert to it; otherwise the Sentiments of so great a Writer, would not have been the last in my Consideration; but I cannot allow myself now to omit taking Notice of them, and it may be no improper Conclusion of these Papers.

This penetrating Author with great Judgment observes all the Extremes into which the Contenders about the true Foundation of moral Virtue have run; whilst each would advance his own favourite Principle upon the Ruines of others: But tho' he judiciously avoids all their Extravagancies, some of which have been taken Notice of in these Remarks, I am sorry to find, that, in establishing Morality and Obligation on the *Will of a superior*, he too Acts upon the *exterminating Model*, will not allow that a *moral Difference* of Things, or *Obligation to Practice*, can be deduced from either of the other two Principles, the *moral Sense*, or the *eternal Relations and essential Difference of Things*.

If the important Point he is proving, required his Argument to be carried thus far, I should very unwillingly oppose it: But there is no need of it, he has strongly proved, throughout the Course of this learned Work, the absolute necessity of Religion to Society; and particularly, in Opposition † to Mr. Bayle, the Insufficiency of the *moral Sense*

† from pag. 53 to 58 Edit.

and the Knowledge of the *essential Difference of Things*, to influence Society to the Practice of Virtue. Against this I am far from contending. My only purpose is to plead that these Principles have so far a *right* of obliging, that whosoever is not influenced by them deserves blame and Punishment, tho' he knows nothing of a superior Will with Power to inflict it. The contrary Notion seems to give the Atheists a greater Advantage than I am persuaded was ever intended them by an Adversary who had attacked them in their strongest Holds, and turned their own Artillery against them, with Abilities equal to his arduous Undertaking. I beg leave therefore to examine the Grounds upon which this great Author maintains, "That an Atheist is not under any Obligation to act agreeably to right Reason," *i. e.* to practise Virtue.

And first he urges, that an Atheist cannot arrive at the knowledge of Morality properly so called; that tho' he may have a knowledge of the *natural essential Difference of Things*, this does not induce the knowledge of the *moral Difference*: † That

† In order to judge of this Point, let us suppose of a Society of Atheists, one fallen into a Pit, where he must inevitably perish if unassisted. And another of them happening to travel that way, who could with great Ease relieve him. Will these two Persons perceive nothing but the *natural essential Difference* between leaving a Man to perish in a Pit, and helping him out of it? Would not the distressed consider one of these as an Inhumanity to be detested, and the other as a good Action deserving grateful Return? Might not the Traveler too be conscious that one of these Actions would be better than the other, have a Goodness in it more to be approved? Yet we will suppose some Business or Pleasure he is intent upon, stifles this Consciousness and prevails with him to leave the Distressed to his miserable Fate; and that he afterwards relates to the rest of the Society, how he had hurried from the melancholly Object, in pursuit of his Inclinations. Can it be imagined that they would coldly consider this Action, only as not agreeable to Reason? Or

this Distinction has lain much unobserved, the Contenders for this Principle, as well as their Adversaries, being under the same Prepossession that *one* inferred the *other*: But that it is a mistake, for nothing but *Will*, or the Law of a Superior, can constitute the Morality of Actions. This in short is the Sum of what is insisted on in several Pages.* To which with Submission I reply, that which properly constitutes the Morality of an Action, is the free Choice of the Agent, judging it to be right or wrong, praise or blame worthy: The Law of a superior does not make an Action morally Good or Evil, it only declares what is so, or restrains and incites by the Sanctions of Punishment and Reward, (I speak not of *positive Duties*, the Morality of which depends solely on the Law of a superior.) Neither do I find that the Contenders for the *natural essential Difference of Things*, have † mistaken it for the *moral Difference*; they plainly saw that these were distinct Things, but they saw too that one was so dependent on the other, that when they had clearly demonstrated the former, they needed not give themselves much Trouble to prove the latter: For perhaps this great Author is the first, who, acknowledging *the natural essential Difference*, has denied that the *moral Difference* was deducible from it.

“ The natural essential Difference of Things, he
“ says, † if we mean any thing by the Terms,

would they not rather judge it to be wrong, inhuman and worthy of Detestation. It cannot I think be doubted that such a Society might be capable of these Sentiments. And what is this but to perceive the *moral Difference* of Things, tho' they have not discovered a *superior Will* to enforce the Observance of them? Or tho' they may think the Guilty secure from that Punishment, which they must be conscious so great an Immorality deserves.

* See pag. 42, 46, 52. † See pag. 52. ‡ P. 44.
hath

“ hath this apparent property, that it creates a *Fitness*
 “ in the Agent to act agreeably thereto: As the
 “ moral Difference of Things creates besides this
 “ fitness an Obligation likewise.” But what is this fit-
 ness and unfitness that results from the natural essen-
 tial Difference? Not indeed the same with that
 which creates it, but surely the very same with the
moral Difference; or else I know not what we mean
 by either: An Action fit or unfit, made the Object of
 Choice, is morally Good or morally Evil: And
 therefore it is maintained that *Fitness* creates an *Ob-*
ligation, because it implies, or is the same with, mo-
 ral Difference, from which our judicious Author
 allows that *Obligation* is inseparable.

He further argues, “ that the essential Differences
 “ of Things are the adequate Objects of the Un-
 “ derstanding, and for this Reason, the Understand-
 “ ing is necessitated in its Perceptions, but the
 “ Will is not necessitated in its Determinations:
 “ For Instance, that three are less than five, the Un-
 “ derstanding is necessitated to judge, but the Will
 “ is not necessitated to chuse five before three:
 “ Therefore the essential Differences of Things are
 “ not the adequate Objects of the Will; the Law of
 “ a Superior must be taken in, to constitute Obli-
 “ gation in Choice, or Morality in Actions.” But
 if this reasoning holds good, it will prove too that
the Law of a Superior is not the adequate Object
 of the Will; for neither does such a Law *necessitate* the
 Determinations of the Will; if it did there would
 be no longer any *Choice*, and consequently no Mo-
 rality in Actions, *Obligation* would then differ no-
 thing from *Compulsion*: But all the *Necessity* that a
Free-agent can be laid under, either from the Law
 of a Superior or from the essential Differences of
 Things, is that of standing self-condemned, if he chuses

to do what he cannot avoid judging, and in the Case of another would pronounce to be unfit, wrong, and deserving of Punishment. This Judgment of his therefore brings him equally under the strongest of *Obligations*, upon whatsoever Principle it is founded, or how inconsistent so-ever it may be with the absurd Notions of an *atheistick Fatalist*.

It is urged in the preceding Page, “ that *Obligation* in general necessarily implies an *Obliger*.” and elsewhere; * that, “ upon the Discovery of a superior Will and not till then, human Actions became the “ Subject of *Obligation*.” To this I answer that, in the common Acceptation of the Word, *Obligation* implies only a Perception of some Ground or Reason upon which ’tis founded, but not necessarily a superior Will: When we say a Man is under an *Obligation* to be grateful to a Benefactor, we mean that the Relation interceding between them requires it of him; and so that he is obliged to do to others, as he would have them do to him, implies an *Equity* in the Thing, that brings him under such an *Obligation*. Again it is urged, “ That the *Obliger* must “ be different from, and not the same with the “ *Obliged*. — To found *Obligation* upon *Reason* is “ an Absurdity, because Reason is only an Attribute of the Person obliged: To make this then “ the *Obliger*, is to make a Man oblige himself.” Very true, but it is just the same, whatever Principle we suppose *Obligation* to be originally founded on, a Free-agent must be always the *immediate* *Obliger* of himself: Whether he judges that the Will of a Superior is to be the only Rule of his Actions; or that he ought to act conformably to the necessary Relations and essential Differences of Things, or to his consciousness of Right and Wrong; or that a Prospect of Rewards and Punishments should solely

influence his Actions; in either Case it is equally the Perception and Judgment of his own Mind, or his *Reason* that obliges him to act accordingly; and this is so far from being an Absurdity, that it is essential to *moral Choice* and *free Agency*.

But it does not follow, because that a Man's own Reason has a Right in this Sense to oblige him, that therefore *he may relinquish that Right*. That Maxim which Mr. *Warburton* * says " is an unexceptionable Rule of right Reason, that whoever acquires a Right to any Thing from the Obligation of another towards him, may relinquish that Right," takes Place I suppose in those Rights alone that are acquired by voluntary Compact, not in those which are deduced from the Nature of Things. But it is the Nature of Things, the essential Differences, which is maintained to be the original Ground of Obligation; over which Reason has no Power, tho' by its Perception of them it becomes the *immediate Obliger* to act suitably thereto.

This Great Writer farther argues || that " from the *Nature* of any Action Morality cannot arise, nor from its *Effects*: Not from the *first*, because, being only reasonable, or unreasonable, nothing follows but a Fitness in doing one, and an Absurdity in doing the other: Not from the *second*, because did the productive Good or Evil make the Action moral, Brutes, from whose Actions proceed both one and other, would have Morality." To this last I reply, that from the *Effects* of an Action, where there is no *Choice*, or *free-agency*, (of both which Brutes are supposed incapable) no Morality can arise: But where these are, Morality does arise from the *Effects* of an Action made the Objects of Choice. To the *first* I reply, that if from the *Nature* of an Action follows a *Fitness*,

Art. 5. *For A U G U S T*, 1743. 155
from *Fitness* follows *Obligation*, and consequently
Morality, in Actions.

This methinks our judicious Author should readily assent to, as agreeable to his own Principles; for tho' he founds Obligation on the *Will of God*, he disclaims the Error of those who place it solely on a View of Rewards and Punishments. "The
" true Principle of Morality * he owns should have
" the worthiest Motive to enforce it; and the le-
" gitimate Motive to Virtue on that Principle is
" Compliance with the Will of God. It is a Mis-
" take, § he says, that Will could not oblige
" without Happiness; Will could not indeed oblige
" to Unhappiness, but it would oblige to what should
" produce neither one nor the other, tho' all Con-
" siderations of the Consequences of obeying or
" disobeying were away." Now if this be so,
(and one would scarce imagine it could be denied)
this Obligation to obey, *independent of all Consequences*, which our Author justly contends for, can be founded on Nothing but a *Fitness* resulting from the Relation of a Creature to his Creator and Benefactor. To argue from hence that therefore *it is Fitness which obliges and not Will*, is indeed a *metaphysical Quibble*, and as † this Author has represented it, not a little absurd, fit only, as he designed it, to *divert* the Reader. But I think it may with great Solidity be concluded, that if the Will of God obliges from a Fitness that arises on Account of the Relation of a Creature to his Creator, whatever Fitnesses arise from other Relations, and the essential Difference of Things, will likewise oblige in their Proportion.

This Great Writer || urges indeed, "that the Fitness that a Creature who depends entirely on his
" Creator should obey him, is infinitely different

* P. 38. § P. 49. † P. 50. || P. 51.

“ from any other Fitness that arises to a supposed
 “ independent Being, from the comparing and per-
 “ ceiving the Relations between his Ideas.” But if
 these Relations or our Perceptions of the essential
 Difference of Things, are, as he farther argues,
 * the Rule that God hath given his Creatures
 to bring them to the Knowledge of his Will,
 then it must be a Rule to all his Creatures whether
 they consider it as his Will or not; and therefore,
 as reasonable Beings, the Fitness of obeying the Crea-
 tor’s Will must be so far from being *infinitely dif-*
ferent from the Fitness of complying with a Man’s
 Perceptions of the necessary Relations and Difference
 of Things, that, supposing all Consideration of the
 Consequences were away, there must be an equal
 Obligation to either, according to the Opportuni-
 ties of discovering them: Besides that without a
 Regard to the Right, and Reason, and Equity of
 the Case, whatever Men’s Actions may be, there
 is no Virtue or real Goodness in the Person that
 does them; the Nature and Reason of Things there-
 fore should seem to be the genuine Principle of true
 Morality.

That the Knowledge of the *essential Difference*
of Things, would not alone be generally effectual to
 influence a Society of Atheists to the Practice of
 Virtue, I readily grant. But that is no more an
 Objection against the Truth of the Principle, and
 its *Right* to oblige, than it is against the Right
 which the *Will* of God has to oblige *independent of*
its Consequences, that the Knowledge of it would not
 be effectual to keep the Bulk of Mankind to the
 Practice of Virtue, without enforcing it by the Sanc-
 tions of Reward and Punishment. ’Tis nevertheless
 true that there is an indispensable Obligation to obey
 the Will of God, *tho’ all Consideration of the Conse-*

quence of obeying and disobeying were away, as this Author justly maintains: And the same Obligation there is without Consideration of the Consequence, to act suitably to that Fitness which results from the essential Difference, and Relations of Things; and to the unavoidable Judgment of our own Minds, that Actions are accordingly right or wrong, worthy of Reward or Punishment.

Now an Atheist is undeniably capable of these Affections of the Mind, by which this great Author * accounts for Men's being disposed to place Morality in the essential Difference of Things, viz. "that Sense of *right* and *wrong* so strongly impressed as to be attended with a Consciousness that "the one deserves Reward and the other Punishment, "even tho' there were no God." This Consciousness therefore, which the Atheist is allow'd to be capable of, tho' he is so blind as not to see that that very Sensation is the plainest Indication of *Will*; tho', from the eternal Truths which he perceives, he is so absurd as not to discern an *eternal Mind* from which they result; yet this Consciousness of his brings him under Obligation to act suitably to what he *does see*, to do, or to forbear what he unavoidably judges to be right or wrong; for no stronger Obligation can be laid upon a *Free-agent* than that of standing self-approved, or self-condemned.

If this be not so, I should be glad to be inform'd whether we are to suppose, that an Atheist is not accountable in a future State for any Enormities he may commit here? Or if this be too great a Privilege to allow him, upon what Principle he can be justly punishable for doing or not doing, what it is maintain'd he is under *no Obligation* to do or to forbear? If the Author of the *Divine Legation* is pleased to take Occasion of giving an Answer to this Question, when

he publishes the impatiently expected Remainder of his valuable Work, it will be acknowledged a great Instance of Goodness and Condescension, to overlook the Obscurity and low Abilities of the Enquirer, in regard to the Importance of the *Difficulty*.

APPENDIX.

There are two Arguments relating to the Subjects of the foregoing Remarks, that seem to be of great Weight with the Opposers of Dr. *Clarke*, being frequently insisted on, and repeated by the best Writers among them; tho' one of them is a mere *fallacy*, (which perhaps themselves are not aware of) and the other at least a very precarious Supposition. It may therefore be of some Service in this Controversy to set them both in a true Light, which I shall here endeavour to do, having but lately had Occasion to observe the Importance they are thought to be of.

It is maintained by Dr. *Clarke* and his Followers, that there are eternal and immutable Relations, essential Differences of Things, and Fitneses resulting from them, independently of the Will of God; which are obligatory to all reasonable Beings, *antecedent to any positive Appointment or Declaration* of the Will of God concerning them. In Opposition to this, several of their Adversaries, in order to establish Virtue and moral Obligation *solely* on the Will of God, have argued in different forms of Expression to this Purpose. That those Relations and Fitneses &c. cannot be eternal, or independent on the Will of God, since they are *Consequences of the Existence of things*, proceeding from the Determination of his Will. And, for the same Reason, they urge that
moral

moral Obligation cannot be *antecedent* to the Will of God, because it could not commence till *after the Will of God* had exhibited certain Relations and Fitnesses in the Creation, from whence Morality arises. Now here is the plain *Fallacy* of substituting a quite different Consideration of Things, in the Room of that, which they pretend to oppose, viz. *particular Existencies*, instead of *general abstract Ideas*; and the Will of God *as express or implied in the Creation*, for the Will of God *explicitly declared* by the Command of moral Virtues. And who is concern'd in this Argument I know not, for surely Dr. Clarke or his Followers never pretended that particular Existencies were eternal, and independent of the Will of God; or that the eternal Reason and Truth of Things were obligatory to reasonable Creatures before the Will of God had brought any such into Existence. The Relations and Fitnesses they speak of, are *Truths eternally in the divine Understanding*, which proceed not from any Determination of his Will, but are the Rules by which his Will is itself determined. The *Antecedency* they speak of respects only the explicit Declaration of the Will of God, by the Command of moral Virtues. And what can be a greater Fallacy than to object to this, that *the Will of God is express in the Creation*, exhibiting those Relations and Fitnesses from whence Morality arises? For the Will of God as express, or rather implied in the Creation, is the very same with that Reason and Truth of Things which are said to be obligatory *as such*, that is, antecedently to any explicit Declaration of the Will of God concerning them: If these Writers will allow the Will of God in that Sense, viz. *as express in the Creation*, to be obligatory to Morality without any positive Appointment, or explicit Command, the Controversy would be at an End. But if they deny this, why do they amuse
their

their Readers or themselves, by seeming to oppose their Adversaries with an Antecedency of the Will of God, when they really mean Nothing more, than that the *Existence* of Creatures capable of moral Obligation is a Consequence of the Determination of the Will of God; which is indeed very true, but nothing to the Purpose in this Debate.

The other Argument which I design here to consider, is urged by those who acknowledge no moral Obligation, but what is founded on self-interest, or a Prospect of *future Rewards and Punishments*. First they lay it down as a *postulatum* that the *sole End* of God in the Creation was to *communicate Happiness*, and that he appointed the Practice of Virtue to be the necessary Means of obtaining that End. In Consequence of this they argue, that Man ought to make *that his End* which God has made so, that a consideration of the End must be the Motive to chusing the Means, and therefore Virtue should only be chosen with *respect to the Re-compence of Reward*, without which View it would neither be Beautiful nor Orderly, nor Reasonable, nor Fit.*

That Happiness was the *sole End* the Creator had in View, is too Precarious a Supposition to be taken for granted; had that been so, probably the utmost Possibilities of it would have been produced, which does not seem to be the Case. However, *Rewards and Punishments* have not the least Pretence to be the sole End of God in the Creation, tho' necessary for the *after* Government of degenerate Creatures; the very Notion of Reward and Punishment implies Merit or Demerit arising from a Compliance with or Neglect of some End, which moral Agents were *previously* obliged to have pursued; so that Obligation must be founded on some Principle *prior* to all

* This Point is largely insisted on, in the Cure of Deism, Chap. xvi.

Consideration of Reward and Punishment, otherwise there could be no Ground for them. And why should God have so over-rated Virtue, as to propose inestimable Rewards for the Practice of it, if it had no Self-excellence, or if it had not been one great End of his creating moral Agents? If an earthly King should promise some great Honours or Privileges to such of his Subjects as amidst a rebellious People had continued faithful to him, or would timely return to their Duty; would any one doubt that the King's *chief End* was to preserve, or to recover his Subjects to their Obedience; and that the proposed Rewards were intended as *Means* the better to secure that End? And if some of his Subjects should profess, that they would have persisted in their Fidelity, or return'd to it, from a Sense of the reasonableness of their Duty, tho' his Majesty had made them no such gracious Promises, would the King think them the worse Men, or the worse Subjects for this, or that they were the less worthy of the Honours he intended them? I dare say Nobody will imagine it. Why then should not the Rewards proposed by the King of Heaven for the Practice of Virtue, be esteemed as *Means* to promote universal Rectitude? And that contributing each his Part towards that great End ought to be the *chief View* of all his reasonable Creatures?

That *one* Design of God in the Creation was to communicate *Happiness*, so far as was consistent with *Order and Rectitude*, or as it is a Consequence of them, I believe will not be questioned; but since the infinitely *happy* Creator, is likewise infinitely *perfect*, I think there is as little Reason to question, that *one great End* he had in View was to communicate some Degree of all his communicable *Perfections*, to produce Beings capable of imitating his moral Attributes, of conforming to that sacred Rule of Truth and Rectitude by which his own unerring

erring Will is always directed; that they might be perfect *even as he is perfect*. And if this was one Design of God in creating Mankind, which can scarce be doubted, then certainly They ought to have the same End in View; and if, in Order to it, God could give them no other Law but that of moral Virtue, as these Writers allow, then the Obligation to practice it must arise, with Virtue itself, from the very Nature of such a System, not solely from a Prospect of Rewards and Punishments.

I am far from intending to depreciate a proper Regard to future Retributions, as they are gracious Assistances to the frailty of Man; but let them not change Place with that which they were appointed to promote, be made *sole Ends*, whilst Virtue is degraded into *bare Means*; tho' if doing right Actions purely *because they are right*, is not the proper Idea of Virtue, it will be hard to say what is; but aiming *solely* at a Reward, certainly is not. Where the Will of God is known, there is an additional Obligation that strongly enforces the Practice of Virtue, from a Desire of being acceptable to the supreme Being, who wills the Perfection of his Creatures, in which their chief Good consists; and therefore the Consideration of the Will of God ought never to be omitted in any christian Schemes of Morality. But neither ought moral Virtue to be established solely on such Principles, as would leave Men loose from every Obligation, who are either not so *wise* as to discover the Will of God in the *Nature of Things*, or not so *happy* as to be acquainted with his *revealed Will*; and the *Sanctions of his Laws*.

These Remarks are with the utmost Deference inscribed to ALEXANDER POPE, Esq; by an Admirer of his Moral Character.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
WORKS of the LEARNED.

For S E P T E M B E R, 1743.

A R T I C L E VI.

Ποιημα Νεδετικον: or the Preceptive Poem of PHOCYLIDES. Translated into English. to which are subjoined NOTES, explaining the difficult Passages; enlarging on several useful and extensive Precepts; illustrating various philosophical Opinions; and containing some general Observations on Propriety of Expression and Grammatical Order. By J. HART.

T H E P R E F A C E.



PHOCYLIDES, the Author of the following Poem, was born at *Miletus*, a City of *Ionia*; and flourished about the 60th *Olympiad*, above 530 Years before Christ. He was cotemporary with *Pythagoras*; but

L which

which of the Two was Elder, is not certain; tho' *Eusebius* gives the Anteriority to *Phocylides* by about 12 Years. *Suidas* tells us he wrote Ἐπη καὶ Ἑλεγείας. And that Time has deprived Us of many more of his Performances, cannot be doubted, since we find several Fragments of him cited in the Works of *Athenæus* and *Stobæus*, many of them beginning with the Words καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδε, *This too is Phocylides's*; which short Preface the Poet prefixed to his Writings, to distinguish the Genuine from the Counterfeit, and to hinder any pretended Author from ascribing them to himself. This he repeated so often in his Verses, that *Tully*, (who lived in an Age, when doubtless many of this Poet's Writings were extant, which are now lost) in an Epistle to *Atticus*, uses the Words, καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδε, as a proverbial Phrase.

But of all this Author's Works we have nothing perfect remaining besides this Ποίημα Νεθέρικον, or *Preceptive Poem*; which, *Suidas* says, was at first called Κεφάλαια, *Heads or Summaries*; it being a Collection of excellent Precepts for the Government of Life, through all its Stages, and in every State. It is written in the *Ionic* Dialect. The Stile is Masculine and Nervous, not embellish'd with Tropes, or set off with Imagery; but Majestic and Simple, as the Dignity and Importance of the Subject required. Each Precept is express'd with Gravity and Perspicuity, in such Terms, as were most proper to convey the Sense of the Author; who seems more studious of instructing the Mind, than

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than of pleasing the Ear. His Language is pure, and his Sentences neither dull nor tedious, but full, and yet concise; which is the chief Excellence of Moral Writers, according to that just Rule of the Poet.

*Quicquid præcipies, esto brevis; ut cito dicta
Percipiant animi dociles, teneantque fideles.*

The publishing a Subject of this Kind in the *English* Tongue, will perhaps to some seem strange and unseasonable, in an Age when Ignorance and Vice appear amongst us Triumphant; when Levity and Impertinence are so much the Fashion, that every Thing Serious and Instructive is immediately despised and rejected; when Learning and Knowledge are avowedly discountenanced and openly ridiculed; and Moral Virtue deem'd Ungenteel and Rustic, the Effect of nothing but Unpoliteness and want of Breeding. But amidst this great Degeneracy and Corruption (which all complain of as Epidemical, but few or none attempt to Reform) I cannot judge so hardly of my Country, as to think it does not still contain some Minds of a nobler and better Stamp; some Persons of Wisdom and Probity, who, notwithstanding the Lewdness and Luxury of the Times, have so far escaped the Contagion, that they still dare own themselves Friends to Virtue and Knowledge, and consequently cannot be displeased at Works, that any ways tend to the Propagation and Praise of sound Morality, good Sense, and solid and useful Learning.

With Regard to the Translation, I shall make no Apology for the Style of a Work,

which (as I have already hinted) neither admits nor requires any Poetical Decorations. I have throughout the Whole endeavoured to express the Sense of the Original in plain and obvious Terms, as briefly as the Idiom of our Language would permit, without sinking into a literal Flatness. And where the Sentence required Illustration, I have subjoin'd Notes of so general a Tendency, that they not only help to explain the Meaning of the Author, but may also (if I mistake not) be of Service towards our right understanding the Sense of other ancient Writers, and forming juster Notions both of their Sentiments and Manner of Expression; at least as far as can be expected from such short Observations; the Work not allowing a further Enlargement on those Hints, the full and clear Analogical Explication of which would be of singular Advantage to the studious Part of Mankind, such as are desirous of Instruction, and Pursuers after Learning.

If any should be so over-nice as to take Offence at the bare mention of some Vices forbidden in the following Poem; such scrupulous Persons should first be very certain, that this Preciseness of theirs is real and unaffected, and then they have nothing to do, but to overlook these, or indeed any other general or particular Precepts of Morality; it being impossible to write any Thing worthy the Perusal of a rational Creature, that can be of any Service to such weak and shallow Minds. But, on the other Hand, if this seeming Disgust be nothing but Hypocrisy, (which is most frequently the Case,

none

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none appearing more Saintly than secret Sinners) such Pretenders would then do well to consider, that nothing can be more foolish, than to imagine, that an overstrain'd Niceness will make them pass with Men of any Penetration, for Persons of an extraordinary Purity of Manners; because, on the contrary, too much Squeamishness is (and not without reason) always suspected of Insincerity and Deceit. To this kind of Objectors, may naturally enough be applied the witty Sarcaſm of the *Epigrammatist* on the Soldiers of his Times, who, it seems, very freely and frequently practis'd Lying, but always reſented it as the greatest Affront to be told so.

*Mentiris, cave Militibus ne dixeris unquam,
Majus eo nullum dedecus eſſe putant.*

*Mentiris, tantum qui dedecus eſſe putatis,
Mentiri, quare creditis eſſe decus?*

AUDOENUS.

The Preceptive Poem of PHO CYLIDES.

LET no adult'rous Love pollute thy
Soul.

Shun Man's embrace with Man: — Conjunction foul!

N O T E S.

Ver. 2. *Shun Man's embrace with Man:—Conjunction foul!*] Because this foul Act is forbidden in *Verses* 273, 274. Some, to avoid a Repetition, have instead of μήτ' ἀρσενα, in the Original, read Μη ἀσέλγεια: But very erroneously. For besides that the general

168 *The WORKS of the LEARNED. Art. 16.*
Plot no Deceits, From shedding Blood refrain,
And grow not wealthy by dishonest Gain:

N O T E S.

ral Epithet ἀσελγία would be very improper to characterize a distinct Species of Uncleaness (which seems most agreeable to the Author's Design in a Collection of particular Precepts) it would be also far from remedying the *Repetition* complained of. For if all Kinds of impure Love be comprehended under the Terms ἀσελγία Κύπρις, it must certainly be Tautology to enumerate every Vice afterwards: And, on the other Hand, if only one Species be meant by the Word ἀσελγία, it will be as difficult to fix it to any particular Lust, not mentioned again throughout the whole Poem.

But this latter Reading is also against all Laws of elegant and correct Writing; and contrary to the Idiom of the Greek Tongue, the Beauty and Energy of which (and indeed of Language in General) depends in a great Measure on the nice Distinction and proper use of the *Compounds*. And we may venture to affirm, that 'tis for Want of a clear Insight into the varied Significations of Words or Particles variously *compounded*, and understanding what Analogy they bear to their *Simples*, that such little Progress is now made in the Study of the learned Languages, (and this not so much through the Learner's Incapacity, as the Teacher's Insufficiency); and that Commentators have so grossly mistaken several Passages in the Works of the Ancients, leaving them more obscure after, than they were before, their Interpretations. This might easily be proved by many Instances: But, as the Brevity of the Work will not permit me to enlarge, I shall for the present only remark, that the Signification of the negative Particle Μὴ, when compounded with τε, is different from that it bears, when

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But what the Hand of Justice gives, receive; 5

And with thy destin'd Lot contented live.

Abstain from other's Goods. Let not thy Mouth

Be prone to Lies; but always utter Truth.

N O T E S.

when $\delta\epsilon$ is annexed to it. Μήτε is used for a quicker and shorter Connection, where the Sentences, or rather Members of Sentences, seem to have a nearer Relation to each other, express'd as it were in the same Breath, and often tack'd together in one Line; but Μήδε connects slower, being rarely repeated in the Line; and is most proper, when the Sentences (for it seldom ties Members) seem to be separated by a greater Distance of Thought, or Space of Time: As when upon the finishing one Precept, or Sentence, the Author breathes a little — and then connects another; then stops a while — and afterwards adds a Third, &c. An Instance or two will make all appear plain and easy,

$\text{Μήτ' ἐπιорκήσης, μήτ' ἀγνώης, μήτε ἔκοντί. Phoc.}$

Μήδε σε λήθοι

$\text{Μήτ' ἔαρ γινόμενον πολὺν, μήτ' ὥρι' ὄμβρ'}. Hesiod.$

$\text{Μήτ' ἐν ὁδῷ, μήτ' ἐκτ' ὁδῷ προβάδην ἐρήσης.}$

$\text{Μήδ' ἀπογυμνωθεῖς. Id.}$

In the first Example, Μήτε only is used, its Office being to connect different Members of the same Sentence, in the same Verse.

In the second, Μήδε and Μήτε are both employed. The former begins the whole Sentence, connecting it slowly to the precedent Sentence, compleat of itself and ended. The latter is repeated twice in the same Verse, relating only to the two Branches of the Precept commanding the Observation of two Sorts of Weather.

The Third is the Converse of the Second. For here Μήτε is first twice repeated in the same Line,

Μήτ'

First Honour God: And next thy Parents too;
And deal to all Men their peculiar Due. 10

N O T E S.

Μήτ' ἐν ὁδῷ, μήτ' ἐκτὸς. When the Sentence seems to be fully enough express'd.--But the Author makes a kind of a Pause; and after some Time for Thought, to render the Precept more comprehensive, adds Μῆδ' ἀπογυμνωθεῖς, *no nor uncovered*, thereby connecting as it were a new Sentence to the former.

Nor indeed is Μῆτε ever used throughout this whole Poem, in the beginning of a Sentence, without being followed by another μῆτε, (which is sufficient to prove μήτ' ἀρσενά to be the true Reading; for μή cannot with any Propriety follow μῆτε) whereas Μῆδε may begin a Sentence, and the Sentence following be connected by Μῆδε, ἀλλὰ, καὶ, &c.

The like may be observed of the *Latin* Conjunctions *Neque* or *Nec*, and *Neve* or *Neu*; that they are never (by correct Writers) used promiscuously one for the other; because their Signification differs, as they are differently *Compounded*. In short, we may lay this down for a certain Truth; "That there are no two *Native* Words in any *pure* Language exactly Synonymous." Though for want of a deep Penetration, and nice Distinction they to most appear so. And although the Difference of Signification in the Particles abovementioned, may be thought of no great Consequence in our present Case; yet the Usefulness of the Observation will appear in this: That, if duly weigh'd, and closely pursued, it may assist our Enquiries, and be conducive to our better understanding the Meaning of Authors in Matters of much greater Importance.

Ver. 9. *First honour God, &c.*] As *Hesiod*, *Theognis*, and *Pythagoras* have begun their moral Poems, with

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For Favour wrest not Judgment: nor reject
A poor Man's Suit; nor shew the least Respect
Of Persons, but remember, God will be,
If e'er thou judgest wrong, a Judge to thee.
Bear not false Witness, let thy Words be just. 15
Preserve thy Chastity. And keep thy Trust.

Let Justice in thy Measures still prevail:
Equal thy Balance, even be thy Scale.
By a design'd, or an uncertain Oath,
Be not forsworn: Avoid the Guilt of both. 20
For Perjury (on whomsoever it rests)
Is a foul Crime, th' Eternal God detests.
Thy Neighbour's Ground deprive not of its Seed,
Whoever steals it, 'tis a cursed Deed.

N O T E S.

with the Worship of the Deity, some have thence been induced to think, that the five first Verses, in the Original, are misplaced; and that *Phocylides* design'd this Verse for the Beginning of his Poem. But there appears no Necessity, that our Author should form his Design after the Model of others: Nor indeed does any such Method seem to be observed through the whole Work; but every Precept set down, as it occur'd to the Poet's Mind. So that there is but little Ground for such an Opinion; especially since all the Manuscript Copies retain the Order, in which the Verses now stand; and those Criticks, who would have the precedent Verses postponed, have left us in the Dark, as to what other Place in the Poem we ought to assign them.

Ver. 23. *Thy Neighbour's Ground deprive not of its Seed*] It was usual for the Ancients, when they began to sow their Ground, to sacrifice a Portion of the
the

To Rob the Hireling of his Due, abhor; 25
And never in the least afflict the Poor.

Think e'er thou speak. And keep a Secret
close.

Wrong none: But him that would do wrong
oppose.

Supply the Beggar's Wants without delay:
And put not off his Suit from Day to Day. 30
Relieve the needy with a bounteous Mind.
Receive the exil'd, and conduct the Blind.
Pity the Shipwreck'd: Dangers still attend
The Seas. The fallen raise, and be a Friend
To him that's Friendless. All may Ills endure: 35

N O T E S.

the Seed to *Ceres*; whereby the whole became Hallowed, and no longer to be esteem'd as common Grain, because dedicate to the Goddess. So that when a greater Quantity was brought into the Field, than could be sown that Day; they never carried the Remainder again into their Granaries, but left it in the Field, together with their Instruments of Agriculture, ready for the next Day's Labour. The Poet here forbids the stealing this *Consecrated* Grain, declaring that whoever was so *Profane* as to take it was ἐπαράσιμος, *Accursed*, as guilty not only of Theft, but Sacrilege.—This is plainly the Author's Meaning in this Place; and not to prohibit Charms and Incantations used to corrupt the Seed, and render it unfruitful, as Interpreters have falsely imagined.

Life is a Wheel, and Happiness unsure.

If thou art rich, assist the Poor, and give
The Needy Share of all thou shalt receive.

Let public Love inspire each gen'rous Soul;

And every Part be useful to the Whole. 40

N O T E S.

Ver. 37. *If thou art Rich, &c*] The seeming Tautology, in this and the following Verse, will immediately vanish, and a beautiful Gradation appear in its stead, if we mark the different Significations of the two Terms, in the Original, *πενήτευσιν* and *χρηστοί*; which nearly answer the *English* Words *Poor*, and *Needy*. By the Former of which we understand (agreeably to the Etymon of the Term) Men of low and narrow Fortunes, who, by hard *Toil*, and painful Industry, just make a shift to supply the Necessities of Nature; but have nothing to lay up for the Time to come, nor can remit any Part of their daily and constant *Labour*. The latter Term denotes Persons of still meaner and more miserable Circumstances; who are not, as the other, provided with the common Necessaries of Life, but by some Misfortune are plunged into a State of Distress, and reduced even to *Want*; and therefore stand in Need not only of *Help* but *Relief*. The former of these our Author recommends as Subjects deserving our *Assistance*; the latter as Objects demanding our *Succour*: To the One, he bids us distribute of our *Abundance*, *πλεον ἔχων*: To the Other, he enjoins us to spare of our *Fortunes*, *ὧν σοι ἔδωκε θεός*. In a Word, the *Poor* have a Right to enjoy Part of our *Superfluities*; the *Needy* ought to share our *Conveniences*, nay to partake of our very *Necessaries*.

Ver. 40.] See the Note on Ver. 49.

Wear not thy Sword for Slaughter, but Defence,
 And gladly with the Use of it dispense:
 For be thy Quarrel e'er so just, or good;
 To slay thy Foe, pollutes thine Hand with Blood.
 Make no Encroachment on thy Neighbour's
 Grounds.

45

Justice is best in all: To pass her Bounds,

N O T E S.

Ver. 41. *Wear not thy Sword, &c.*] *Phocylides* having before forbidden the polluting our Hands with Blood; lest his Meaning should be mistaken, and the Prohibition confined only to base or secret Murder, punishable by the Laws of every State, and condemned by the general Voice of Mankind; He here lays down an excellent Rule concerning the Use and Abuse of the Sword. He would never have us employ it, but when we are to act defensively; and not even then, except all other Methods are ineffectual, and we are compelled by the universal Law of Self-Preservation to consult our own Safety, and have Recourse to Arms for the Defence of our Life; which State, he says, is so far from being desirable, that 'tis rather to be shun'd as much as possible, and never to be enter'd, but by Compulsion, and with the utmost Reluctance. From all which we may conclude, that this Philosopher's Notions of Bravery were very different from those entertained by such, as foolishly think it Heroic and Noble, never to put up the slightest Affront, but to shed Blood for the Breach of the minutest Punctilio, and cut a Throat for a meer Trifle; as if none were Heroes but Gladiators, or every *Homicide* was a Man of Honour; whereas 'tis Humanity and Generosity

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 Is Evil. Let the Earth's Productions be,
 Nor hurt, nor hinder'd in their Growth, by thee.
 Strangers with Townsmen hold in like Esteem:
 For we may all (tho' settled now we seem) 50
 By Poverty distress'd, be forc'd to roam;
 For Man has not on Earth a certain Home.

N O T E S.

rosity that constitute the brave Man, while Fierceness and Cruelty animate Brutes and Savages: And if that be the noblest Spirit, that is most furious and destructive, *Lions, Wolves, and Tigers* have the truest Valour. — They therefore who build their Greatness on nothing but the Destruction of Mankind, and Devastation of Countries, sacrificing whole Nations to some Hellish Principle, gilded with the false Appellations of Honour or Courage, are so far from meriting our Esteem as Heroes, that they rather deserve our Hate and Detestation as Pests of Society, open Ravagers, and public Murderers; it being a Maxim unanimously agreed on by all wise Men; “That nothing can be Great or Honourable, that is any Ways pernicious or destructive.”

Ver. 49. *Strangers with Townsmen hold in like Esteem.*] This Precept compared with Ver. 40. sufficiently discovers the Depth of our Author's Wisdom, the Soundness of his Philosophy, and the Extensiveness of his Charity. For tho' all civiliz'd Nations have wisely taken Care to instill into the Minds of Youth early Notions of the Love of their Country, inciting in them a laudable Desire of cultivating it by Arts, or defending it by Arms; yet all thinking Men know, this is done for Ends purely Political, to maintain Society, promote Interest, and support Government. The Man of Sense extends

The Love of Money is that fertile Root,
 Whence all the various Kinds of Evil shoot.
 In Gold and Silver what unseen Deceit 55
 Makes Mortals labour to be Curst, and Great!
 O Gold! thou Guide to Evil! Bane of Life!
 Thou Spring of Mischief! and thou Source of
 Strife.

Happy for Man if thou hadst never been!
 Thou pleasing Ruin! pregnant Cause of Sin! 60
 Thy dire Effects in bloody Wars we see!
 Wrongs, Rapines, Murders, all proceed from
 thee!

Children for thee their Parents Ruin seek!
 And Brothers all the Ties of Nature break!

Speak what thou know'st is right, and scorn
 to use 65

Words suited to the Times, for sordid Views:

N O T E S.

tends his View much farther; and sees the whole World a Community, of which himself is a Member. To him, that ancient Maxim holds undeniably good, “That all the World is a wise Man’s Country.” And, in his Esteem, to confine our Compassion and Benevolence within the scanty Limits of a Town or Country, a Sect or Party, a Notion or Opinion, or any other fantastic Relation, betrays a Narrowness of Thought, and Baseness of Spirit, unbecoming a Philosopher, and proper only to Fools and Bigots.

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Like Reptiles born on numerous Rows of Feet;
Who change their Colour, as they change their
Seat.

N O T E S.

Ver. 67. *Like Reptiles*,—] The Creature here alluded to by the Poet is called a *Polypus*; which, as Naturalists affirm, has a Power of altering its Hue as often as it shifts its Place, assuming the Colour of that Spot where it fixes; not much unlike some Species of *Caterpillars* among us, whose Colour is the same with that of the Herbs they live on; which kind of Reptile *Hesiod* calls ἀνόςεσ Boneless. But, by the Epithet πετροφύης, our Author seems to mean a Creature living by the Sea-side and cleaving to Rocks, or at least residing principally in stony Places. *Erasmus* says it is a Fish: And indeed the general Name of *Polypus* may be attributed to any Species of Animals, that have a great Number of Feet. See the Description of a *Polypus* given by *Pliny*, Lib. ix. Cap. 29.

'Tis worth remarking, that *Theognis* has mentioned this very Creature, and recommended it to us for our Imitation; which *Phocylides* here expressly forbids. But the Admonitions of both these Authors are salutary enough; and not inconsistent with each other. For indeed 'tis impossible to lay down any unalterable Precept of moral Œconomy, any that ought not, in some particular Cases, to be superseded; but good Nature and Discretion must direct us. *Theognis* only forbids a rigid, sour, obstinate Attachment to our own Notions; advising us sometimes to recede a little, and for good and laudable Ends become as it were *all Things to all Men*. *Phocylides* on the other Hand would have us scorn the Baseness of time-serving Sycophants, who sooth Mankind in
their

To calmly practise Injuries predefign'd,
 Argues the Baseness of a Villain's Mind. 70
 But judge not rashly him that's over sway'd
 To act unjustly: Let th' Intent be weigh'd.

If Wisdom, Strength, or Riches be thy Lot,
 Boast not; but rather think, thou hast them not.
 One God alone, from whom these Gifts pro-
 ceed, 75
 Is wise, is mighty, and is rich, indeed.

N O T E S.

their Vanity by Flattery and Lies; and appear under any Form, that is most suitable to accomplish their sinister Ends, by imposing on the Weak, deceiving the Ignorant, and cajoling the Unwary.

Ver. 75. *One God alone.*] We have here an express Assertion of the Unity of the Deity. And I think, we may reasonably enough conclude, that not only *Phocylides*, but all wise Men, in all Ages, (when they were carried into any Depth of Thought) could entertain no other Conceptions of the Divine Being than what center'd in Unity: And whenever they talk'd of more Gods than one, 'twas either in Conformity to the vulgar Notions of the Times; or from an Incoherence, or Confusion of Thought, which for the present obscured their Mind, and produced a Multitude of wild and vague Imaginations. For indeed the Mind of Man is for ever restless and perplex'd, while his Ideas are multiplex, and his Thoughts employed on Plurality or Number; nor can it ever perceive any Light, or experience any Ease in thinking, till it has again resolved itself into Unity. For all that Knowledge, which studious Men acquire in the Science of Numbers, is only the Perception of the

Let not past Troubles thro' thy Fancy run :
What once has happen'd, ne'er can be un-
done.

N O T E S.

the Relation they bear to Unity ; every Arithmetical Calculation being nothing but Unity display'd in different Lights, and manifesting itself under various Operations. When therefore Men have so extended and strain'd their Thoughts, that they have lost Sight of Unity, their Understanding immediately becomes dark and confused ; there is no Uniformity or Coherence in their Ideas ; nor are they capable of continuing their Enquiries with any Clearness or Regularity ; because a Multiplicity of Objects has disorder'd their Reason, and untun'd their Mind. For every Idea of Number is a kind of Distraction or Dilaceration of the human Mind ; which is only then perfect when its *Eye is single* and its Perception one. Men of weak Understandings, and shallow Capacities, are easily deceived by a Multiplicity of Appearances ; but to a discerning Mind, all the various Objects within the Compass of Nature first discover the *Harmony*, and then point out the *Unity* of the Whole. Thus, tho' our Poet, in another Place, calls the *Sun, Moon, Earth, Sea, &c.* *Ὀυρανίδαι, The Celestials*, and *Μέγαρα, The Blessed*, and attributes to each his proper Office as a Deity, yet he could mean no more, than that these are all Emanations from one Fountain, and act by that one Power, that moves, pervades, and animates the whole Mass.

Thus far at least we may reasonably allow, that *Phocylides* and most other Philosophers could go. But if they went no further, their Notions seem to be very short and imperfect. For if God be that

Restrain thine Anger, and to strike be slow,
 Blood has, tho' undesign'd, been known to
 flow, 80
 And Murder issu'd from an angry Blow.

N O T E S.

universal *Soul* or *Mind*, that is diffused throughout the whole World, and gives Life and Motion to all material Substances, and yet is itself distinct and separate from Matter; it follows, that every the minutest *Particle of Matter* must terminate and bound the Being of the Deity: Since 'tis impossible, that he can be Omnipresent, so as to fill all Space, if there be any Thing existing besides himself. Was there but one Particle of Matter in the whole Universe, besides the Deity; that Particle, however minute or contracted, would be sufficient to overthrow God's Ubiquity: For if it be argued, that tho' God *be* not that Particle, yet he is *in* that Particle; this Way of Reasoning does not seem to solve the Difficulty: Since it still allows that Particle of Matter to be somewhere: consequently God (if he is not that Particle) cannot be every where.

The Ideas of Men concerning God are various. Some among the Ancients confess'd One Supreme Being, worship'd under different Titles or Appellations, according to the several Attributes they ascribed to him, or the various Blessings and Advantages Mankind received from him. Others gave the Name of Deity to every Thing, that was above the common Level of Humanity, and esteem'd great and glorious amongst Men: For there is no Possibility of forming any middle Conception between *God* and *Man*; the Ideas being but Two, and admitting no Medium: Because, let
Be

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Be all thy Passions with the Mean endow'd:
Nothing too great, too lofty, or too proud.
Ev'n Profit, when redundant, noxious proves:
Immoderate Pleasures breed immoderate Loves.

N O T E S.

Men separate *God* from the *Creature* in their Thoughts, as far as they can, the highest Conception they can form of the Divine Nature is, that it is superior to the Human; consequently there can be no intermediate Gradations between them; since the Idea of a Medium naturally involves with it that of the two bounding Extremes; and every Thing that bounds, must necessarily be bounded; which disagrees with Mens general Notions of Deity. Whatever Beings then we may endeavour to think of; if we would attribute to them Qualities more excellent, in kind, than any found in Man; we ascribe to them the utmost we are able to give to God himself: For if ever we extend our Thought beyond Humanity, it must immediately be swallowed up and lost in Deity; and every Idea short of God, must inevitably be fix'd on Man.

The Title of Hero or Demi-god among the Heathens carried with it a compound Idea; and denoted, not Beings of a middle Nature between God and Man, but Persons, to whom both these Titles were applicable; who were, in their Opinion, part Human, part Divine; having all the Passions and Infirmities of Men, and yet possessing some other Qualities (as they imagined) superior in kind to Humanity. According to this Sense they entertained Notions of a Multitude of Gods; the Unthinking amongst them never going beyond the Sight of their Eyes. And in this Sense our Age is as idolatrous as any of theirs, all worshipping that,

Riches, if more than can be fairly born,
 Engender Pride, and puff us up with Scorn.
 Ungovern'd Courage too is always bad: 88
 Too hot a Spirit makes its Owner mad.

N O T E S.

which they imagine more excellent than themselves, and Deifying every Thing they don't understand; and, maugre all our boasted superior Light, the Deity is as much divided in the Notions of the Vulgar as ever: For when once the Idea of the Unity is dissolved, 'tis indifferent, whether it be broken into *Three* Parts, or three Millions. In a word, whether we think on God or Man, whatever be the Object of our Thoughts amongst all the Variety of Nature, no thinking Man can have any Light or Satisfaction, while his Ideas would grasp at more than *One*; for 'tis then, and then only, we think with Perspicuity and Pleasure, when the Eye of our Mind sees nothing but Unity.

[Ver. 88. *Ungovern'd Courage.*] If it be ask'd, why I should render *ὑμῶς ὑπερχόμενοι*, by *ungovern'd Courage*? I answer, That this conveys the Meaning of the Poet is plain, not only from considering his whole Drift in the preceding Lines, where all his Reprehensions are levelled at the *Excess* of Things in themselves useful and pleasant, and becoming noxious only when possess'd in an immoderate Degree; but also from the Propriety of the Terms he has chosen, to express his Meaning; as will appear, if we examine the Force of the Compound Verb *ὑπερχομαι*, which signifies literally to *come under*, and, at first Sight, should seem to carry with it an Idea of Deficiency, and not of Excess. But this Difficulty will soon vanish, if we remember, that every Word has two Acceptations, a Literal
 and

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 Anger is rightly term'd a kind of Lust;
 But Wrath's excessive, and is far the worst.
 To emulate what's Good, deserves Applause;
 But Zeal is Evil in an evil Cause.

NOTES.

and a Metaphorical. The Preposition *ὑπὸ*, in *Latin* *sub*, signifies literally, *under*; but metaphorically, *privily* or *under Covert*: And according to this latter Sense the Poet calls a Resentment, that steals insensibly on the Mind, and kindles into a Rage, before we can call in Reason to our Assistance, *ὑποῦς ὑπερχόμεν*, an *interloping Passion*, that rather comes unperceived, than admitted and countenanced by the Dictates of right Reason, which should, as it were, keep the Door of our Breasts, and examine all that enters, and is entertained there. And in this Sense *Cesar* uses the Terms, *subducere in collem*; which, if literally translated, *to lead under upon a Hill*, seems a very *cataphorical* Expression, but if taken, as designed by the Author, in a metaphorical Acceptation, carries with it a plain and obvious Sense, and only intimates, that he led his Soldiers *secretly* to take Possession of the Hill.

Many Passages in correct Writers may be thus clearly and Analogically accounted for, without having Recourse to pompous sounding Names of loose and licentious Tropes and Figures; which are too often used in downright Defiance to Sense and Reason, and seem calculated rather to hide (if possible) the Ignorance of the pedantic Commentator, than to explain the Manner of Expression, or discover the true Meaning of the injured Author.

Ver. 93. *Zeal is Evil.*] The Original is *ὑποεργός*; the Signification of which compound Term (as used here by the Author) may be easily gathered from what has been said in the precedent Note.

Boldness in bad Men always Mischief breeds ;
 But 'tis a mighty Help to virtuous Deeds. 95
 The Love of Virtue wears a beauteous Face ;
 But Lust, ignoble Passion ! breeds disgrace.

A wise Man all his Country justly think
 A Public Blessing. In thy Meat, and Drink,
 And Talk, be Moderation always had : 100
 The Mean is best, and all Extremes are bad.

Repine not at thy Neighbour's Good, nor
 rail :

No envious Thoughts th' *immortal Minds* assail.
 The Moon's not griev'd at those more glorious
 Rays,

That issue from the Sun's effulgent Blaze. 105
 Low Earth ne'er envies Heaven's etherial Dome,
 Nor Rivers grudge the Sea's unfathom'd Womb ;
 But all breathe Love from one congenial
 Soul :

For Discord in the Blest would spoil the
 whole,

The Heav'ns would fall, and Pole encounter
 Pole. 110

Be always temp'rate. Shameful Deeds eschew.
 Chuse not with Mischief Mischief to pursue.
 Let Justice vindicate thy Goods or Life.
 Soft Words are useful : Strife engenders Strife.
 Trust not too rashly ; but thy Faith suspend, 115
 Till thou hast certain Knowledge of the End.

Art. 6. For SEPTEMBER, 1743. 185

Most often in requiting Favours shown,
Chuse rather to outdo, than be outdone.

N O T E S.

Ver. 117, 118. *Most often in requiting Favours shown,*

Chuse rather to outdo, than be outdone.

The Original is Νικῶν ἐν ἔργου^ντας ἐπὶ πλεόνεσσι καθήκει; where the Word καθήκει, express'd in this Passage, supplies that *Deficiency* of Grammatical Construction, which appears in all those Places, where the Verb that leads the Sentence is put, not in the Imperative, but the Infinitive Mood; some such Verb as this being always understood. And in these Cases the *Omission* is obvious, and easily perceived: but in many other Forms of Speech, the *Ellipsis* lies somewhat deeper, and requires a little more Penetration to find it out, and supply it. It is however always worth the Pains bestowed in searching for it; since the right understanding its Nature is so necessary in the Study of Letters, that all our Skill in Language does in a great measure depend on it: For if due Regard were paid by Grammarians to this Elliptical Manner of Syntax, observable in all Writers, Language would be found to be, (not that arbitrary Thing many reckon it, but) reducible to Rules of equal Certainty with those of other Sciences. Every *Case* of Nouns would appear to have its fixed peculiar Office, and every kind of Verb to govern its proper unalterable *Case*. And we should have no need to load the Memory of Learners with that Heap of loose undigested Rules (as they are called) with which our Grammars are so stuffed, and which are so far from helping a Learner in acquiring the Languages, that, on the contrary, he can never arrive at any Depth of Knowledge in that Study, till

Better to let a Stranger find, with Haste,
 A hearty Welcome to a mean Repast; 120
 Than thro' an ill-tim'd Hindrance make him
 wait

The formal Dainties of a gaudy Treat.
 Exact not from a Poor Man (tho' thy Right)
 A Debt, with Rigour, to the utmost Mite.

N O T E S.

he has found out their Insufficiency, and rejected the greatest Part of them, as not only useless but hurtful.

Ver. 119. *Better to let, &c.* The Poet here lays down an excellent Rule for Hospitality, telling us, 'tis much better to welcome our Guests with Sincerity and Freedom, tho' the Fare be simple and homely; than to torture them with the Formalities of a splendid ceremonious Entertainment; where Politeness and Complaisance are so excessively abused and over-acted, that a Man of Sense must debase himself, (for 'tis a great Debasement to a noble Mind) to put on the Mimic, and ape the Fopperies of a shallow-thoughted Company; whose only Qualifications consist in straining the Laws of Civility and Good Manners, into a thousand ridiculous Gestures, and fulsome Expressions; which are often deceitful and treacherous: but always, at best, impertinent, and idle.

Ver. 123, 124. *Exact not from a poor Man
 (tho' thy Right)
 A Debt, with Rigour, to the
 utmost Mite.*

This Precept is exceeding useful and instructive: and may serve to expose the great Folly of those, who vainly flatter themselves, that they walk according to the Rules of Equity, and deserve the Title of honest
 and

Art. 6. For SEPTEMBER, 1743. 187

Who spoils a Nest, wou'd act extremely wrong,
With greedy Hands to take both old and young:
To leave the Dam has this apparent Good, 127
Thou hence may'st haply find a second Brood.

NOTES.

and good Men; because they never act contrary to what the Law enjoins, nor defraud others of their legal Property: tho' at the same Time they are void of all Humanity and Compassion, and readily improve every Advantage, the Letter of the Law will allow them, to oppress and rack their weaker Brother; whose only Fault perhaps is, that he is poor and defenceless. Than this unjust, tho' lawful Proceeding, nothing can be more dishonest and wicked; nothing more repugnant to the eternal Dictates of Benevolence and Charity, by which external Laws should sometimes be superseded. For such is the Weakness of Mankind, that the wisest Legislators cannot invent or institute any Law extensive enough to conduce in every respect to the good of the Society. The truly honest Man should therefore, in many Cases, recede from what the Rigour of the Law would give him; because the strictest and most legal Prosecutor, is very often the greatest and worst Offender: According to the old *Latin* Proverb, *Jus summum saepe summa Injuria*.

Ver. 125. *Who spoils a Nest, &c.*] Some would have this Passage to be allegorical, and relate to the foregoing Precept forbidding a too rigorous Exaction of a Debt. But as it is not so connected in the Original, there is no necessity for such an Interpretation; but it may be very well taken in the literal Sense, as an entire Precept of itself. Nor is it below the Dignity of a Philosopher to teach
Men

Set not a Fool in Judgment: Wise Men guide
 Wise Councils; Artists Points of Art decide.
 A Man unlearn'd no Science can discern: 131
 They never know, what's Good, who never learn.

N O T E S.

Men Benevolence and Compassion to all the inferior
 Creatures, as well as to one another.

The Great Lawgiver of the *Jews* has in the
 Scripture laid down this very Command. *If a Bird's
 Nest chance to be before thee in the Way, in any Tree,
 or on the Ground, young Ones, or Eggs, and the Dam
 sitting upon the Young, thou shalt in any wise let the
 Dam go, and take the Young to thee.*

Ver. 129. *Set not a Fool in Judgment.*] We
 have here a brief but comprehensive Instruction con-
 cerning the true Nature of a solid and lasting
 Government. To make it just, its Basis must be
 the free Choice of the Society. For the Right of
 all Rulers consists in nothing but the Consent of the
 People; no Man having any just Authority to
 make Laws for others, without the Approbation of
 the Community, for whom these Laws are made.
 And that the Government may be permanent as
 well as legal, 'tis absolutely necessary that they who
 preside, should be Men of deep Penetration and
 great Wisdom. *Phocylides*, like a good Politician,
 justly excludes Fools from the Administration of
 any Public Office. None but Wisemen should
 be chosen Magistrates; For they only are capable of
 judging right in any important and difficult Affair:
 Wisdom being indispensably necessary to enable a
 Governor to execute his Office, for the Good of the
 Society in Matters of common Life: And Skill in
 any particular Art or Calling, as requisite to qualify
 a Man for a Judge in any Controversies peculiar to
 that

Art. 6. For SEPTEMBER, 1743. 189

No Friendship make with Parasites, their Ends
Are fordid: Many now are Trencher-Friends,
Time-serving Slaves, who eat at others Charge,
Displeas'd at small Gifts, not content with
large. 136

Place no Dependence on the vulgar Herd;
Th' unstable Vulgar, in a Moment's stirr'd.
The Multitude, a Torrent, and a Flame,
Are three wild Monsters very hard to tame. 140
Thy Strength consume not with excessive Heat,
Fixing too near the sacred Fire thy Seat.

N O T E S.

that Art. So that all Authorities built on other Foundations are rather to be deemed Tyrannies than Governments. The bad Consequents of which are glaring enough, where Block-heads are promoted to Places of Command, and Fools upheld to Lord it over their Betters.

Ver. 141. *Thy Strength consume not with excessive Heat.*] It was customary among the Antients, when they attended Divine Service, to place themselves near the Fire, which consumed their Sacrifices, that they might the better perform every Ceremony proper to the Occasion. Some, who were over devout, would even waste their Strength by their close Situation, and long Continuance at the Fires; thinking, it would be more pleasing to the Gods, if they paid the strictest Attention, and omitted not the minutest Circumstantial of Worship, even tho' it were to the impairing their Health and Vigour. This superstitious Practice the Poet here reprehends as hurtful to the Devotees, and not required by the Gods.

Ver.

The Gods for too great Offerings never call;
 Observe the Mean; The Mean is best in all.
 Interr the Dead, and never dare disclose 145
 Their Caverns, on their sacred Dust expose;
 The Wrath of Heav'n attends such Crimes as
 those by

'Tis a foul Deed, deserving highest Blame,
 To mangle or dissolve a human Frame. 150
 We hope, the Reliques of departed Men
 Shall rise to Light, and never die again,

N O T E S.

Ver. 150, 151. *We hope, the Reliques of departed Men*

Shall rise to Light, ———

This Passage sufficiently evinces the Falshood or Ignorance of those, who would persuade us, that the Notion of the Resurrection of the Body was never entertained by any before Christianity. The Poet says plainly, they expected *the Reliques of the departed to come shortly out of the Earth to Light.*

Καὶ τάχα δ' ἐκ γαίης ἐλπίζομεν εἰς Φάϛ ἐλθεῖν Δείψαν ἀποικοινομένων. And he immediately subjoins, Ὅπισω δὲ θεοὶ τελέθονται, *They are afterwards to be Gods.* By which he means, they shall be more glorious, than when in the common State of Humanity. See *Note on Verse 75.* But what that Glory is to be, or how these Reliques, (or to use the modern Phrase) these *Particles of Matter*, after having issued so often from the common Mass, and passed into so many Millions of Forms, are again to be distributed to each Individual, and be sufficient to constitute all that have existed, he does not pretend to explain. By which his Silence he has shewn himself

Art. 6. For SEPTEMBER, 1743. 191
But be immortal Gods: The human Soul
In Death continues uncorrupt and whole:
The Spirit of Man is God's own Image, sent 154
From Heav'n, and for a Time to Mortals lent.

To this added by NOTE S.

himself a little wiser than some of later Years; who after they have long canvass'd the Matter, by a Multitude of unintelligible Terms, senseless or contradictory Expressions, and Words without any Ideas, have at last been forced to drop the Argument; and, taking Sanctuary in Religion, call it an Article of Faith, above the Comprehension of human Reason, but yet to be credited by the human Mind: That is, a Thing, Men are bound to believe, altho' (as explained by them) they can form no Idea of it: And the Object of their Faith, must be a Non-entity. As an Article of Faith I shall therefore leave it, with this Remark, That if it be a fundamental Article of the Christian Religion, *Phocylides* must be so far allowed to be a Christian; who has express'd it as *clearly*, and *demonstrated* it as *fully*, as any of the Modern christian Writers.

Ver. 152, 153. ————— The human Soul
In Death continues uncorrupt
and whole.

Phocylides was too much of a Philosopher to imagine, that the Soul of Man, once existing, could ever cease to be; the very Term of Annihilation being idle, and unintelligible. Having therefore, in the preceding Verse, asserted the *Resurrection of the Body*, he here affirms the Soul to be immortal, it being, as he says, the Image of God himself, and therefore must always *Be*: But as to the State and Manner of its Existence he says very little; leaving

Our Bodies are of Earth: And therefore must Dissolve in Earth, and moulder into Dust.

N O T E S.

leaving it as unexplained, as he had before that of the Body.

And even in that little he has uttered, there appears more of the Priest than the Philosopher, all his Expressions being calculated; not so much for giving Light and Perspicuity to his Doctrine, as to add Weight and Authority to his Precepts; and serving rather as Motives to incline the Will, than Arguments to convince the Understanding. This is consistent enough with his Character as a Moralist; whose Business it is to lay down and enforce practical Rules; and not to dwell on physical Enquiries, any longer than is conducive to his main Design.

Our Author sometimes calls the Soul *Ψυχή* *Life*, sometimes *Πνεῦμα* *Spirit*. Sometimes he says, 'tis the *Χρησις*, or *Loan* of God, at other times 'tis his *Εἰκὼν*, or *Image*. Sometimes he will have it received into the Air after Death; at other times, 'tis to go to *Ἅδης*, or *Hell*, the invisible Receptacle of all the departed. Both which last Opinions are peculiarly adapted to enforce the Observation of the particular Precepts he delivers. The former he introduces, when he would persuade Men to bury the Dead, and not permit their Carcasses to be torn or mangled, or their Ashes to be uncovered and exposed to the common View. He endeavours to deter them from this inhuman Practice, by telling them, not only, that 'tis offensive to Heaven, but also, that the Souls of the Departed are taken up, and received into the Air, thereby insinuating, that they still hover round, and overlook the Perpetrators of such Cruelties. The latter he uses as a Motive to dissuade

But Souls releas'd to pristine Seats repair,
Born on the Pinions of the floating Air.

N O T E S.

dissuade us from Avarice, and excessive Parsimony ; declaring, that 'tis to little Purpose, to be so anxious after Riches, since in a short Time the Soul, or Life, is to go to the eternal Habitations in the gloomy Regions of the Dead ; where Wealth and Pomp are no longer available ; and Beggars are placed on a level with Princes.

All the formentioned Terms and Expressions are full as clear and instructive, as those used by the Generality of our Modern Writers on the Soul. Who when they treat of its Essence call it a spiritual or immaterial Substance ; and with regard to its Nature, say, it was at first pure, and innocent, but has (by what Means 'tis hard to say) been corrupt and wicked ever since. When they speak of its Existence, they tell us, that tho' it must never have an End, yet it had a Beginning about six thousand Years ago. And as to its State hereafter, 'tis either to mount up to Heaven above the Stars, or else to sink down to Hell below the Earth : The Difference between which two must be own'd to be a very great Mystery indeed ; it being extremely difficult, for Men inhabiting a Globular Earth, to conceive the Distinction between *upwards* and *downwards*. In short, from an entire Ignorance of several Passages in the Scriptures, and the gross Acceptation of the Terms *Heaven* and *Hell* used therein, they have introduced a monstrous System of unintelligible Philosophy : And having placed the Earth in the middle, have surrounded it with a large Concave ; all Parts of which contain innumerable alternative Heights and Depths, Ascents and Descents, Heavens

Be not too sparing : know, thou'rt mortal made ;
Nor can thy Wealth be to the Grave convey'd.
Death levels all: Souls wait on God's Command.

Th' eternal Mansions and the Stygian Land
To all are common. Thither all repair,
Beggars and Princes meet promiscuous there. 165
Our Space of Life is narrow : Short our Stay.

The deathless Soul's exempt from all Decay.

By adverse Fortune be not quite subdu'd,
Nor too much lifted up with Joy, at Good: 169
We're oft deceiv'd by Things that surest seem.
Obey the Times ; nor strive against the Stream :

N O T E S.

vens and Hells ; all, according to the Rotation of the Earth, perpetually changing their Situations : So that when the Inhabitants of any one Part of the Globe have Heaven over their Heads, their Antipodes must look for it under their Feet ; and when Hell is situated beneath the One, the Other may properly be said to ascend up to it. Upon the whole, I think we must own that, notwithstanding the great Truths contained in the sacred Writings, so little are they understood, that our boasting of Light and Knowledge superior to the Pagans is with too little Ground ; the *blind Heathens* having at least as bright, (if not much brighter) Discoveries of Truth, as the Generality of Christians in these latter Days of *divine Revelation*.

[Ver. 171. *Obey the Times.*] Serving the Times is here recommended as laudable and useful ; which in *Verse* 135. is ascribed to Villains and Parasites, as mean and unworthy a Man of Probity and Honour. But there is no inconsistency in these two Places :

Art. 6. *For* SEPTEMBER, 1743. 195

One Moment, Men some sudden Ill endure;
And find the next some unexpected Cure.

Shun mad vain-glorious Boasts: and be thy
Tongue

With Modesty, that useful Beauty, hung. 175
No Sword has half that penetrating Force
That lies in Reason, and in wise Discourse.

To ev'ry Kind of Creature God has giv'n
Defensive Arms, and Pow'r deriv'd from Heav'n.
Birds he created swift, and Lions Strong, 180
Bulls with their Horns defend themselves from
Wrong.

The Bees are arm'd with Stings: But Man's
Defence

Is plac'd in Reason: Reason is the Prince
Of all Endowments, 'tis a glorious Beam
Of God's own Light, a Ray deriv'd from him.
A wise Man's Head excells a strong Man's
Hands; 186

Wisdom disposes Fields, and orders Lands;
From wild tumultuous Rage she guards a Realm;
And Ships are safe, when Wisdom guides the
Helm.

NOTES.

Places: Both are worthy of Regard; and Discretion must be our Guide, with respect to different Circumstances. See Note on Verse 67.

Save not the Wicked from their just Desert ; 190
 Shun their Contagion ; from their Steps depart :
 For they who live with Knaves, great Hazards
 run,

Of being with them in their Crimes undone.
 Conceal no Thefts : For both are equal Thieves,
 Who steals the Goods, and who, when stol'n, re-
 ceives. 195

Let every Man be of his own posselt,
 For Equity and Right in all is best.

Prudently spare, lest pinching Want intrude.
 Rob not the lab'ring Cattle of their Food :
 Man feels their Evil, and partakes their Good. 200

N O T E S.

Ver. 199, 200. *Rob not the lab'ring Cattle of
 their Food :*

*Man feels their Evil, and par-
 takes their Good.*

This is the most obscure Passage in the whole Poem: and has given the greatest Perplexity to the Commentators to search its true Sense, and find out the Meaning of the Author. The Original is, Μὴ κτήνας δυνάτοιο ἐσθῆν κατὰ μέτρον ἔλλαι. To interpret which, some have made κτήνας (tho' a Neuter Noun of the fifth Declension) the Accusative Plural of the third Declension and Masculine Gender ; subjoining ἐσθῆν with it by *Apposition* : And have thought κατὰ to be used here instead of παρὰ, *q. d.* *White* for *Black*, and ἔλλαι for χειρῶσαι : Out of all which they make up this Sense, *Treat not labouring Beasts, which provide Food for Man, unjustly, or without Moderation.* But certainly 'tis very improbable that

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that our Author should designedly pervert the common Signification of Words ; and put *κατὰ μέτρον* instead of *παρὰ μέτρον*, when he was not compell'd to it by any Necessity of Metre ; since this is such a bold licentious Abuse of Speech, as no Rhetorical Figure, of any hard Name or sounding Title whatever, could justify, or so much as excuse. We should hardly expect this even in comic Poets, whose Subjects are more florid and trifling ; much less in a moral Writer ; and least of all in *Phocylides* : Whose Style is as simple and plain throughout the rest of the Poem, as the Nature of the Subject required ; and who, having convey'd his other Instructions in perspicuous, easy Expressions, would hardly have delivered this Precept in such obscure *catachrestical* Terms, for no other Reason, than to make his Meaning unintelligible.

Another way of explicating this Passage approv'd of by some Commentators is, to join *κτῆνες* and *βορην* by *Apposition*, (as in the precedent) and to interpret *ἐλθαι* by *sumpseris*, taking *κατὰ* in its proper Acceptation : And then the Sense will be ; *Take not labouring Cattle, even in Moderation, for the Food of Man* : As if the Poet meant to forbid our eating such Creatures as we employed in plowing the Ground, thrashing the Corn, &c. — But tho' the Expressions are not quite so strained and perverted by this Method, as the former ; yet that this is not the right Exposition of the Precept will appear, if we carefully consider the true Sense of the Word *ἐλθαι*, as used by the Poet himself. For the best and surest Way of interpreting an Author, is by comparing him with himself ; and especially an Author of Greece, which flourished so many Centuries, and contained such a Number of Provinces, and some of these of such

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large Extent, and so far distant from the others, that different Authors affixed different Senses to the same *Greek Words*, according to the several Ages, and Countries of *Greece*, they lived in. *ἔλλαι* comes from the old Verb *ἔλω*; several Moods and Tenses of which being out of use, those that remained were adopted by *αἶρω*, *capiō*, (to supply such Tenses as were obsolete or deficient in this Verb, as is often the Case in other Languages) which signifies to *take*; not in a Sense, when that we *take* from, consents to, or permits the *taking*, which is the Signification of *λαμβάνω*, but to *take* with some Violence, or at least when that we take from is insensible of the taking. These differ in the same Degree, as the *Latin Verbs*, *Sumo*, and *Capio*: The former of which denotes a *taking* pursuant to some Contract, or by some Right or Claim, real, or pretended, for it antiently signified to *purchase* or *buy*, and in this Sense we find it used sometimes even by *Tully* himself; the latter implies a *taking* exclusive of any Property or Title, and conveys a Kind of intermediate Idea between *Sumo* and *Rapio*. In this Sense the Verb *αἶρω* is used in another Place in the Poem, where the Poet forbids the stealing of Seed, telling us, that he is curst, that shall *take* it. So that, *βορὴν ἔλλαι*, cannot (according to our Author's own Phraseology) be fairly interpreted, *Cibum sumpseris*.

The Verse then, rightly pointed, in the Original should, in my Opinion, stand thus: *Μὴ κτήνης, θνητοῦ βορὴν κατὰ μέτρον, ἔλλαι*. The Grammatical Order of Construction is this. *Μὴ ἔλλαι ΒΟΡΗ'Ν κτήνης, κατὰ μέτρον βορὴν θνητοῦ*. *Take not away the Food of a labouring Beast, which is in Proportion the Food of a Mortal*. By this Interpretation, *κτήνης* will be the Genitive Case of the neuter Gender, as it is always
else-

Art. 5. For SEPTEMBER, 1743. 199

Should'st thou thine Adversary's Beast espy
Fall'n in the Road, pass not unheeding by;
But help it. Should thy Fellow-mortal be,
Or wandering on the Land, or tost by Sea;
Thy willing Aid on such a Man bestow:
And to a Friend convert a former Foe.

By Amputation stop a growing Ill;
And ev'ry Wound, while recent, timely heal.
Abstain from Flesh, that falls to Beasts a Prey,
Detest and throw such noxious Food away,
To Dogs: Let rav'nous Dogs devour such Feasts,
As suit their Nature: Beasts are Meat for Beasts.

N O T E S.

elsewhere used; the Sense will be plain and obvious; the Construction no Ways forced or figurative; (which is always to be avoided, as much as possible, by Writers of Moral Precepts, in whose Works Obscurity is inexcusable) and the Author's Meaning clearly understood: which was to prohibit the stealing of Corn, Hay, or any other Food of working Cattle; because, by robbing them, we robb'd Mankind, their Food being as necessary to support them in their Labour, as their Labour is conducive to our Maintenance; consequently the Deprivation of the one, must be, κατὰ μέτρον, in Proportion the Diminution of the other. — *Judicent Eruditi.*

Ver. 201, 202, 203. *Should'st thou thine Adversary's Beast espy*

Fall'n in the Road; pass not unheeding by;

But help it. — — — — —

The like noble and generous Precepts are enjoined by *Moses, Exod. xxiii. 4, 5.*

Abstain from pois'nous Drugs, and magic
Charms.

Handle not Infants roughly by their Arms.

Be no Fomenter of seditious Jars; 215

The pregnant Causes of approaching Wars.

No Benefits on wicked Men bestow ;

As well thou mayst with Seed the Ocean sow.

Labour, and let thine Hands procure Relief
Of all thy Wants: an idle Man's a Thief. 220

Feed not on Refuse-Scraps of others Boards,

But, what thine honest Industry affords,

In Credit eat. And let the toilsome Spade

Maintain the Man, that knows, nor Art, nor
Trade.

N O T E S.

Ver. 214. *Handle not Infants roughly by their Arms.*] Some take this as a figurative Sentence: and think, the Design of the Author, in bidding us not handle *Infants* roughly was to inculcate in us a Tenderness and Compassion for the Weak and Defenceless; admonishing us not to treat our weaker Brethren too harshly and rigidly, nor lay greater Loads on them than they are able to bear; but rather indulge them, and yield to their Infirmities in some Cases; and, as the Scripture expresses it, *bear one anothers Burdens.* — But tho' this Sense may fairly enough be drawn from the Expressions; yet as our Author delights not much in Metaphor, but conveys his Instructions in proper obvious Terms, suitable to the Simplicity of his Times, and the Plainness of his Subject, there is no Necessity for this figurative Acceptation; but
the

Art. 6. *For* SEPTEMBER, 1743. 201
 There are (which all Excuse for Sloth destroys)
 In Life a thousand various good Employ's. 226
 See the wide Ocean court the Sailor's Mind!
 See spacious Fields invite the lab'ring Hind!
 Some Pains in all our Tasks must be bestow'd;
 And every Man must work--and ev'ry God. 230
 From useful Labour, well employ'd, proceeds
 A large Encrease of great and virtuous Deeds.
 The Ants their subterranean Cells forsake, 233
 Studious of Food, and wide Excursions make,
 When Fields disrob'd give up their ripen'd Stores,
 And fill with plenteous Crops the loaded Floors;
 While each his new-found Corny Load sustains;
 And as he shares the Profit, shares the Pains :
 So thick they swarm, such endless Rounds they
 tread,
 They all are Leaders, and they all are led. 240
 Thus wisely provident for future Needs,
 What from the Summer's rich Encrease proceeds,

N O T E S.

the Precept may rather be understood in the literal Sense; and caution us not to hurt Children, by snatching them violently by the Hands, either out of Negligence, or (which is most common) when we are suddenly angry with them for some Offence, and our Passion hurries us beyond the Bounds of Discretion.

Ver. 230. — *And ev'ry God.*] What the Poet means here by *the Gods*, or *the Blest*, Μένεσες, see the Note on *Verse* 75.

For Winter treas'ring up, the Fields they trace;
A small, a weak, but a laborious Race!

Thus too th' industrious Bee aërial flies, 245
And by her prudent Toil her Wants supplies.
Far in the Caverns of the Reeds, or Rocks,
Or in the hollow Trunks of antient Oaks,
Her Hive prepar'd, her waxen House she builds,
Stor'd with the rifled Sweets of flow'ry Fields.

Remain not single; lest obscure thou die, 251
And buried in Oblivion nameless lie.

Render to Nature, what for thee was done,
And be a Father as thou wast a Son. 254

To prostitute thy Wife will prove a Shame, }
A Stain to thine, and to thy Childrens Name: }
Bastards and true-born Sons are not the same. }

NOTES.

Ver. 255. *To prostitute thy Wife--*] This vile unmanly Spirit dwelt, we find, in some Husbands amongst the antient *Greeks*; otherwise *Phocylides* would not have condemn'd it as mean and shameful. The mention of this, and the following flagitious Practices, may serve to confute the false Notions of those, who think, Mankind are worse now-a-days than in former Ages: as if there was any thing in Man now, that did not always exist, somewhere. Tho' it must be confess'd, particular Nations have their Changes and Declensions, now flourishing, and now degenerating; and Virtues and Vices take their continual Round, and visit different People, in different Degrees, and in various Ages. See this servile odious Practice described by the *Roman*

Lyric

Touch not the second of thy Father's Beds,
 Thy Step-dame: In thy Mother's Steps she treads.
 Respect her as a Mother. And abhor 260
 To make thy Sister (curst Fact!) thine Whore.
 Nor with thy Father's Concubines pollute
 Thy Body. Let not Women cause the Fruit
 Within their Wombs abortive to decay;
 Or pitiless their new-born Infants lay, 265
 Expos'd to Birds and Beasts a helpless Prey.
 Strike not thy pregnant Wife, nor dare destroy
 A future Father, in an injur'd Boy.
 The loath'd, unmanly, horrid act detest,
 To mix in curst Conjunction with a Beast! 270
 Disdain thy Consort's Honour to debase
 By shameful Actions, in a foul Embrace.
 Beyond what's natural, let not Lust prevail:
 The Brutes themselves ne'er couple Male with
 Male.
 Nor let unnat'ral Deeds the Women stain; 275
 To lewdly imitate the acts of Men.

N O T E S.

Lyric Poet; who, complaining of the Degeneracy
 of his once great and glorious Country, amongst
 other Acts of Luxury and Lewdness, says of this:

*Sed jussa coram non sine conscio
 Surgit MARITO; seu vocat institor,
 Seu navis Hispanæ Magister,
 Dedecorum PRETIOSUS EMPTOR.*

Hor. Lib. 3. Od. 6.
 Ver.

Let not blind Love thy nobler Pow'rs controul,
 Dethrone thy Reason, and possess thee whole.
 For Love's no God, but what in all we find,
 An obscure Passion of the human Mind. 280
 Thy Brother's Wife defile not ; love thine own :
 Can there on Earth diviner Bliss be known,
 Than that which crowns, thro' ev'ry Stage of
 Life,
 Th' indulgent Husband, and th' endearing Wife ?
 Let none presume a Virgin to deflow'r, 285
 By Force resistless, or thro' lawless Pow'r.
 Marry not One, that's wicked, or a Fool ;
 Nor for a Portion, be a Woman's Tool.

N O T E S.

Ver. 287. *Marry not One, that's wicked, or a Fool.*] *Phocylides* in this, and the succeeding Verses, very prettily exposes the excessive Folly of Mankind with regard to Marriage. Which tho' all allow to be one of the most important Affairs of human Life, yet the generality of both Sexes rush into it as carelessly, as if their Interest were but lightly concerned in it, and their Happiness or Misery did not at all depend on their Choice ; or as if a Failure here were very easily remedied, and the Yoke no sooner disliked but rejected. He very justly imputes this unaccountable Madness to the Love of Money. Since 'tis common enough to see Parents gladly selling their Children into the worst of Slaveries, so the Price be but large ; and both Men and Women voluntarily bartering their Freedom for Gold ; as if there was no Misery in the World, but a moderate Fortune, or all were happy that were immensely rich. But the sad
 Confe-

Art. 6. For SEPTEMBER, 1743. 205

In purchasing a Horse what Care we use
To search his Soundness! Bulls by Strength we
chuse,

290

And in our choice of Dogs, we always mind,
To get the best and most courageous Kind;

And yet (consummate Madness!) in a Wife,
How soon we take a wealthy Plague for Life!

A Woman too brings ruin on herself 295
Choosing a Husband meerly for his Pelf.

Marry one Wife, and then from Wives abstain;
To take another's adding Pain to Pain.

Be to thy Children not morose, but mild;

Let Mothers punish each offending Child; 300

Or th' Elders of the Family; or they,

Who in the City bear the public Sway.

NOTES.

Consequences of this Mistake most married People at last regret; tho' so epidemical is the Curse, that few escape; it being impossible to convince Men of their Error till their Misery becomes fix'd and unalterable.

Ver. 297. *Marry one Wife, and then from Wives abstain*] It is not Bigamy, or the marrying another Wife after the Decease of a former, that is here forbidden; but Polygamy or the having more Wives than one at a Time: which, it seems, our Author was no great Friend to, as he calls it adding one Evil to another.

Ver. 301, 302, ———— Or they,
Who in the City bear the public Sway.

The Design of the Poet in this Place is to instruct us, how to shun the evil Consequences of Anger in Fathers towards their Off-spring; who, when over-heated

Let none of thy Male Children ever wear any of
Neat braided Curls of long depending Hair :

002

NOTES

heated with Rage, too often in the Violence of their Passion chastise their offending Children without Moderation, and in the midst of Wrath forget Mercy. To obviate this Evil, *Phocylides*, having in the precedent Verses advised them to commit the Punishment of their Children to their Mothers, whose more tender Natures would not permit them to be too harsh or cruel; or else to any of the elder Relations or Domesticks, who were disinterested in the Case, and therefore not likely to be hurried away with the Vehemence of Passion like the offended Father; he here proposes another Remedy, and bids them deliver their Children to the public Magistrates, to be punished as Delinquents. And this, tho' it seems a little odd in our Times, was a Practice usual in many flourishing States and Kingdoms; and esteem'd by them very salutary, and conducive both to public and private Good. For they thought, Parents were but partial Judges of their Children's either Virtues or Vices, and therefore not likely to be the best Instructors of their Youth, or to chuse them the worthiest and properest Tutors. And as in every Community the Education of Youth is very conducive to the Good or Evil of the Public, they judged it highly worthy the Regard of the Legislature, to appoint fit and able Persons for that Purpose; who might train up the Youth in the Paths of sound Morality, and instill into them early Notions of Virtue and Honour, that so they might be of Service to their Country afterwards, according to their several Capacities and Inclinations. 'Tis to this kind of Polity among the *Perfi-*

ans,

Art. 6. For SEPTEMBER, 1743. 207
Long Hair, degrades the Man by whom 'tis
worn, 305
But flowing Tresses female Necks adorn.

If thou hast handsom Sons, let Care be had,
To guard their Persons: Men with Lust are mad.
Thy beauteous Daughters also keep at Home:
Abroad, unmarried, let them seldom come. 310
For Parents find it now extremely hard,
From lustful Snares their Childrens Youth to
guard.

Love all thy Kindred with unfeign'd Respect,
Revere the Head with hoary Honours deckt:
Rise to a Senior, and resign thy Seat, 315
And shew him all Regard, and Homage meet:
Elders, of equal Birth and Age, should be
Honour'd with Fathers, in the same Degree.

N O T E S.

ans, *Xenophon* ascribes the Excellence of all those amiable Qualities and Heroic Virtues, that shin'd in *Cyrus* their Prince, who was brought up, like the other *Persian* Youths, not under the Tuition of his Parents, but under the Care and Government of Masters and Tutors provided by the Public for that Purpose. See the Manner of their Education fully described by that Author in the first Book of his *Cyropædia*.

Ver. 305. *Long Hair degrades the Man by whom 'tis worn.*] The wearing and nourishing long Hair, tho' beautiful and glorious in the Female Sex, is here forbidden in Males as effeminate and highly derogatory to the Dignity of the Sex, arguing a womanish

For thy Domesticks keep no scanty Board;

His undiminish'd Hire to each afford; 320

That chearful he may practise thy Command:

And scorn to fix a stigmatizing Brand

On Servants: Or with bitter railing Words

Accuse them spitefully before their Lords.

Never, thro' senseless Pride, reject th' Advice 325

A Servant gives thee, if the Servant's wife.

If once the Soul be fair, and chaste within,

The Body will be consequently clean.

N O T E S.

womanish Softness of Mind, and therefore condemned as shameful and unmanly, by the Generality of Mankind, or, as the Scripture terms it, by the Voice of Nature itself. 1 Cor. ii. 14, 15.

Ver. 327, 328. *If once the Soul be fair, and chaste within,*

The Body will be consequently clean.

The Poet concludes all his moral Instructions with this one just Remark. "That the Purity and Soundness of the Mind are the only *Kαθαρμοί* *Cleanings* or *Purgations* of the Body." By which he would intimate to us, that as all wholesome Admonitions and useful Precepts are thrown away, and lost, on Persons of loose and abandoned Dispositions; so, on the other hand, if once the Minds of Men are reform'd and purified by the rational Principles of sound Morality, the Sanity and good Order of their Bodies will naturally succeed, there being but few, amongst all that great Variety of Disorders and Evils which are incident to the Humane Body, but what very often owe their Origin to the irregular Desires and baneful Dictates of a corrupt and wicked Heart.

Ver,

The Myſteries theſe of ſacred Juſtice are, 329
Be theſe, O Mortals, your peculiar Care.

N O T E S.

Ver. 329. *The Myſteries theſe of ſacred Juſtice are.*] *Phocylides*, the better to exhort his Readers to the Practice of the Rules he had laid down, calls his moral Precepts *Μυστήρια δικάσιων* *Myſteries of Righteouſneſs*; which probably, was what induced *Suidas* to believe he took them out of the *myſtical* Writings of the *Sibyls*. Others have imagined, he called them *Myſteries*; becauſe, as *Greece* in his Time was uncultivated, Writings of this Nature were then very rare, and therefore might be eſteemed extraordinary or *Myſterious*. But certainly this could not be the Author's Meaning in terming his Inſtructions *Myſteries*; they being all obvious, and eaſy to be aſſented to by every thinking Perſon, and of ſuch a Kind, that no State or Community of Men could ſubſiſt without them, ſince Morality is the very Foundation and Cement of all Society. I am therefore more inclinable to think, he gave them this Name, in Alluſion to the ſeveral Myſtical Rites, and obſcure Forms of Worſhip, introduced and practiſed by the Priests in their Sacrifices, and other Acts of Divine Service, that he might thereby give the firmer Sanction to his Doctrines, and add more Authority to his Inſtructions. As if he had ſaid,
“ You maintain a great Multitude of Priests, ob-
“ ſerve a Variety of religious Ceremonies, and adore
“ a Number of Gods. The ſeveral Votaries of all
“ which are very tenacious of their own Opinions,
“ cloſely attached to their particular Parties, and
“ ſcrupuloſly exact in performing the minuteſt
“ Circumſtantials of Worſhip; each in hope of
“ gaining the Favour of that Deity he ſerves. But
“ as many of the Ceremonies and *Myſteries* are un-
“ intelligible,

210 *The WORKS of the LEARNED!* Art. 6.
Then Life shall smile thro' ev'ry chearful Stage
Happy in Youth, in Manhood, and in Age.

N O T E S.

“ intelligible, most of them childish and ridiculous;
“ and all of them, at best, but of little or no Con-
“ sequence ; if you would learn something that shall
“ be useful, on a level with your own Understand-
“ ings, give strict Attention to what I have deli-
“ vered. These are the true *Mysteries of Righte-*
“ *ousness*, the genuine Dictates of right Reason ;
“ the Observation of which will surely produce the
“ best and most desirable Ends even in this Life.
“ You will infallibly experience their good Effects,
“ in your several Stations and Conditions ; and find
“ them attended with Health, Quiet, and every
“ other Blessing, that can any Ways conduce to the
“ making your Lives, first regular and moral, after-
“ wards peaceful and happy.”

F I N I S.



ARTICLE VII.

ANDREW MILLAR, Bookseller, at *Buchanan's Head* in the *Strand*, has lately publish'd a compleat and beautiful Edition of the Works of the honourable *Robert Boyle* Esq; in five Volumes, Folio; to which the Life of the illustrious Author is prefixed, compiled by the Revd. *Thomas Birch*, M. A. and F. R. S. The Undertaking was great, and ought to be encouraged. The learned World is indeed indebted to Mr. *Millar*, who, at a great Expence and Hazard, has within these few Years enriched it, besides this Performance, with fine and accurate Impressions of the Writings of *Harrington*, *Milton*, and *Bacon*, all eminent in the Republic of Letters.

Mr. *Birch* tells us, "The general Reasons for collecting into one Body the Works of Mr. *Boyle* are as obvious, as the Excellency of the several Parts of them is universally acknowledged. It may suffice therefore, as he adds, to acquaint the Reader, that as a compleat Set of his Pieces, separately published, is not perhaps to be found any where, except in Sir *Hans Sloane's* Library, and as the whole contains a very large Collection of philosophical Essays on a great Variety of Subjects, full of curious Experiments and Observations, with several valuable Discourses upon the most important Subjects of Religion: such a Collection had been long desired, both as a public Benefit, and as a Justice due to the Memory of that great Restorer of the mechanical Philosophy."

The Execution of this noble Design is in the following Manner.

I. The several Tracts formerly printed are taken from the most improved Editions with the utmost Correctness, and disposed in the Order of Time, in

which they were first published. This Disposition of them was determined upon, as well from the Reason of the Thing, and with a View of shewing the Rise, Progress, and Dependencies of the Author's Discoveries, as in Conformity to his own Judgment; who, upon Occasion of a *Latin* Edition of his Works at *Geneva* 1677, complained publicly, by his Friend Mr. *Oldenburgh*, Secretary of the Royal Society, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Number CXXX. p. 766, 767. " That the Year
 " in the Frontispiece of that Edition is one and the
 " same, as if the several Books contained in this
 " *Latin* Volume had been published in one Year;
 " and the Enumeration of the several Treatises,
 " made in the Catalogue of this *Latin* Edition, is
 " not according to the Time, wherein they were
 " first printed, &c.

II. Some very considerable Additions are made in this Edition, which were never before published; namely, Fragments of an *Appendix* to the *first Part* of the *Christian Virtuoso*, and of the *second Part* of that Work, preserved pursuant to the Author's own Desire; with a large Collection of Letters of Mr. *Boyle* and his Friends upon various Subjects, selected from about fifteen Hundred written by most of the great Men of the last Age at home and abroad, with whom he corresponded.

III. The Copper-Plates, illustrating the several Pieces, are engraved with much greater Exactness and Elegance than those in any former Edition.

IV. There being only two original Pictures of Mr. *Boyle* now known to be extant, it was thought proper to have them both engraved. One, which represents him in the 38th Year of his Age, is placed in the Title Page of each Volume, copied from a Drawing of Mr. *Faithorne*, communicated by Sir *Hans Sloan*, from which likewise Mr. *Faithorne* himself engraved his Print, with the Instruments accom-

panying

panying the Head, according to the Design of Dr. Robert Hooke, who thought the *Face very carefully and well done, and very like.* The other, which fronts the Title Page of the first Volume, is taken from an Original Painting done in the latter Part of his Life, and now in the Collection of Dr. Mead.

V. The *Life* contains Mr. Boyle's own *Account of himself during his Minority*, extending to the Year 1642; and is continued to his Death, from the best Materials that could be procured at this Distance of Time.

ARTICLE VIII.

AN anonymous (but very learned and judicious) Author, hath lately published a Tract under this Title *viz.* "some brief Considerations upon Mr. Locke's Hypothesis, *That the Knowledge of God is attainable by Ideas of Reflexion*, wherein is demonstrated upon his own Principles, *That the Knowledge of God is not attainable by Ideas of Reflexion*;" being an Addition to a Book lately published, entitled, *The Knowledge of divine Things from Revelation not from Nature or Reason*; by the Author of the said Book."

This Tract contains 51 Pages in Octavo, which the Reader may quickly peruse, and have the Satisfaction to observe, that what is undertaken in the Title, is clearly made good in the Argument. The Book refer'd to, is an Octavo of 440 Pages, and the Author tells us that he writ the Tract as a Supplement to Page 131 of that Book, being moved thereto by the Discourse of some Friends, who were of Opinion, that what is there said on Ideas of Reflexion had not been particularly enough applied to Mr. Locke's Hypothesis. This is now done to a Demonstration: but if it had not been done, the Book however was a fair and ample display of na-

tural Religion and human Philosophy, confessing by their greatest Champions, that whatever Truth of God they could boast of, was originally owing to his own Revelation of himself.

This Book deserves a Place amongst the choicest Works of the Learned, as well for the Importance of the Argument as the clear and pleasant Method in which it is written.

ARTICLE IX.

MR. *John Nourse*, Bookseller, at the *Lamb* without *Temple Bar*, has just published, in nine Volumes, Duodecimo, the *Letters, Memoirs, and Negotiations* of the Count *d'Esstrades*, his most Christian Majesty's Ambassador in *Italy, England, and Holland*, and, afterwards, Ambassador and Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, in conjunction with *M. Colbert* and the Count *d'Avaux*; together with the King and the Secretary of State's Answers; comprizing the whole transaction of the Sale of *Dunkirk*, and many other important Incidents in the Affairs of that Time. A new Edition, greatly improved, in which the many Castrations of the former Impressions are faithfully supplied.

Nothing can be more seasonable than the reprinting these *Memoirs, Letters, and Negotiations*, at this critical Juncture, in so many Particulars resembling that which they relate to. The Liberty of *Europe* is now exposed to the like Attempts of *French Ambition*; all *Germany* is inflamed by the artful Intrigues of that deceitful Enemy, and wasted by their pretendedly pacific Hostilities; the *Austrian Netherlands*, which *France* has been greedily coveting for more than a Century, is openly threatened with a speedy Invasion; while the neighbouring States are strongly solicited to a pernicious Neutrality, amused by

by the most seducing illufory Promifes, or terrified by repeated Menaces; *French* Gold is profufely fcattered in foreign Courts to corrupt the Servants of Princes to betray their Mafter; Difputes are artfully introduced and fomented to divide and weaken the other States of *Europe*, and even to fet the *British* Parliament and Miniftry at Variance; the moft contradictory Engagements are entered into, concluded and figned at the fame time, almoft in the fame Hour; and the moft folemn Treaties are violated and trampled upon in the moft open and perfidious manner. Thefe, and many other Practices equally or more wicked and dangerous, are but too near Refemblances of thofe iniquitous Proceedings, the Springs of which are fo vifible in *M. d'Eftades's* Papers. And as a Diforder once known is faid to be half cured, provided the Patient is then careful in applying proper Remedies: So it cannot be too earneftly recommended to all who regard the prefervation of their Liberty, and have Refolution enough to defend it, to perufe over and over again this ufeful Collection, that they may be thoroughly acquainted with the flagitious Schemes of that perfidious Nation, which appear fo confpicuoufly herein, and be the better enabled to obviate or defeat them. I fay, nothing can be more conducive to thefe falutary Purpofes than a frequent perufal of this Mafter-key of *French* Politicks. Here we have the Advice, the Intelligence, and Sentiments of one of the moft expert Negotiators ever employed: witnefs that furprizing Affair of the Sale of *Dunkirk*, which he entirely managed; greatly indeed to his Glory, and the Advantage of his Country, as it was the higheft Detriment to ours, and fix'd an indelible Stain on the Memory of thofe who were then at the head of our Councils. It is this fubtle and experienc'd Agent, who, in a time of profound Peace, and while he had nothing to difcompofe him, communicates to the

King, his Master, and his Ministers of State, the most important Points, the most secret Views of his Negotiations; all which are in this Correspondence happily laid open; and must therefore afford a most useful instruction to all those of our Nation, whose Rank or Employment obliges them more especially to watch over the public Welfare, to remedy present, and prevent any future Evils.

There had been already two Editions of this Work. The first, in five Volumes Duodecimo, was printed at the *Hague*, in 1709, tho' by the Imprimatur it seemed to be at *Brussels*. This Impression was of little Value, as it was very deficient. There was a second done at the *Hague*, in 1719, in six Volumes, Duodecimo. This was undoubtedly more complete than the former; it containing not only several Letters, which, through mere carelessness, were omitted in the first Edition, but likewise an entire additional Volume, under the Title of *Negociations du Comte d'Estrades en Hollande, Angleterre, Savoy, &c. depuis 1637. jusqu'en 1662*; wherein, besides other important Pieces, we have the Treaty between *France* and *England* for the Purchase and Sale of *Dunkirk*. However, whether through Design or Chance; in both these Editions, several very material Words, Lines, and, sometimes, whole Paragraphs were suppressed: Copies of these Omissions, in Manuscript, were indeed multiplied, and dispers'd; but extremely incorrect and imperfect.

It was resolved therefore, with an Eye to the Service of our Country, to reprint these *Letters, &c.* of the Count *d'Estrades*; and the Editor thought it his Duty, seeing it was fortunately in his Power, to send them, at this their new Birth, into the World, in a State as perfect as that wherein they originally proceeded from their Author. And to contribute yet further to the improvement of this Edition, there are now added to the Pieces that we have been mentioning,

ing, the three Volumes printed by *Adrien Moetjens* at the *Hague*, 1710, under the Title of *Lettres & Negociations de Mrs. le Maréchal d'Estrades, Colbert, Marquis de Croissy, et Comte d'Avaux, Ambassadeurs Plenipotentiaires du Roi de France a la Paix de Nimégue, et les Reponses, et Instructions du Roi et de Mr. de Pomponne*. Our Editor flatters himself that the World will be very well pleased with his having in this manner collected every thing that has hitherto appeared under the Name of the Count d'Estrades.

There is prefixed to this Collection, a Piece that was wanting in the two former Editions: It is intitled *Introduction aux Lettres, Memoires, et Negociations de Mr le Comte d'Estrades*, being a compendious Account of the Intrigues of the *French* Court, to raise an universal Monarchy on the Ruins of the rest of *Europe*; and of the artful Practices of this sagacious active Minister on the Dutch Pensioner, *de Wit*, whom he flattered into a fatal Security, that issued in the Destruction of that great Man and his Brother, and had like to have terminated in that of their Country. This Tract is followed by a brief Elogium on *M. d'Estrades*.

Besides these, in the first Volume, we have,

I. *Instructions du Cardinal de Richelieu pour le Comte d'Estrades; allant en Angleterre, du 12. Novembre 1637; allant en Savoie, du 5. Decembre 1638. allant en Hollande, du 10 Janvier 1641: les Lettres de ce Cardinal; celles des Princes d'Orange, Frederic-Henry, et Guillaume II. son Fils; celles du Cardinal Mazarin; et les Reponses du Comte d'Estrades a la plupart de ces Lettres, depuis le 24. Novembre 1637. jusqu'au 21. Aout 1654.*

In these Letters we find the Fragments of several Conversations which the Count d'Estrades had with *Henry*, Prince of *Orange*, in the Years 1639, 1640, and 1641, containing many curious Particulars. I

shall set down here only one of them, wherein the Count has drawn the Character of that illustrious Person in such a manner as must inspire us with a great Idea of his excellent Qualities. “ I must do
 “ Justice (says he) to the Memory of the Prince of
 “ *Orange*. Never did any General shew a greater
 “ Firmness or Intrepidity in hazardous Exploits, or
 “ a greater Sagacity in foreseeing the Consequences
 “ of an Action. His Orders were issued with the
 “ utmost exactness, and he required the most punctual Execution of them. He was generous, a
 “ kind Friend, and bountiful. He treated People
 “ of Merit with distinguishing Affability and Beneficence. He spoke ill of nobody. He highly extolled
 “ good Actions, and affected to express his Esteem
 “ of them before young People, that he might thereby excite their Emulation. He was courteous
 “ to Strangers, and would frequently speak to them. He retired daily for some Hours to his Studies. He was learned, and usually carried *Cæsar’s* Commentaries about with him. His Conduct was admired during the Time of his Government. He
 “ used his Enemies civilly, and forced them, by the sweetness of his Behaviour, to reconcile themselves
 “ to him, and to ask his Pardon. He never abandoned his Friends in their Misfortune. He was
 “ prudently cautious, and never confided in any one till he had often tried him. He would suffer no
 “ Flattery near him. He was somewhat slow in
 “ executing what he had determined; and he often
 “ said, he would sleep on what he had resolved, before he signed it, that if it were capable of
 “ Amendment, his Mind might have an Opportunity of suggesting Expedients.

After the abovesaid Article we have, in the first Volume,

II. *La Negociation du Comte d’Estrades, en Angleterre, depuis le 21. Juillet 1661. jusqu’ au 15. Novembre 1662.*

III. *Traite*

III. *Traite pour la Vente et l'Achat de Dunkerque.* This famous and almost incredible Treaty, the Master-Piece of *d'Estrades* Politicks, was signed the 27th of October 1662. And,

IV. *Une Lettre du Comte d'Estrades au Roi sur ses Conquetes et la Prise d'Utrecht, du 15. Juillet 1672.* This Letter is equally remarkable for its excessive Flattery of *Lewis XIV*, as for the Slanders and pernicious Counsels which the Writer has therein suggested against the united Provinces.

The first thing included in the second Volume of this Collection is, the Treaty of Peace, Commerce, and Alliance, concluded at *Paris*, between the *French King* and the States general of the *United Provinces*, April 27th 1662. Then follows the Embassy and Negotiations of the Count *d'Estrades* in *Holland*.

These are continued through the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Volumes: which five Volumes, tho' not so perfect by much as we now have them, made up the whole of the first Edition of these Memoirs in 1709. That which was published in 1719 was somewhat enlarged; but was far short, however, of this before us.

The seventh, eighth, and ninth Volumes contain the Negotiations of the (Count now become) *Mareschal d'Estrades* and *Mess. Colbert* and *d'Avaux* at the Congress of *Nimeguen*; beginning with a Letter from these three Ministers to the King, of the 30th of June 1676; and closing with another from the same Persons, to *M. de Pomponne*, dated September 30th 1677.

This is a general Account of the important Collection now put into our Hands, and which is really one of the principal Keys of modern Politicks. I will here adjoin a few Passages, extracted at random, from some of the Letters comprehended therein, and likewise one or two of those which were retrench'd in the former Editions, but are carefully restored in the present.

One of the most remarkable Epistles in the first Volume, is that which the Count *d'Eftrades* wrote to Cardinal *Mazarin*, from *Durkirk*, Feb. 5. 1652, in these Terms: * “ MONSEIGNEUR, le Protecteur

“ *Cromwel* m'a envoye Mr. *de Fitz-James*, son Colonel des Gardes, pour me proposer de traiter de
 “ *Dunkerque*; qu'il me'en donneroit deux millions;
 “ & qu'il s'engageroit de fournir 50 Vaisseaux &
 “ 15000 hommes de pied, pour se joindre aux
 “ armées du Roi, & se declarer contre l'*Espagne*
 “ & contre les Ennemis du Roi & de V. E. avec
 “ qui il vouloit faire une tres-etroite Amitie.

“ Je lui repondis, que si les Troubles & la Guerre
 “ Civile qui estoient en *France* ne m'obligeoient pas
 “ d'envoyer vers la Reine & V. E. je l'aurois fait jetter
 “ dans la Mer, pour m'avoir cru capable de trahir
 “ mon Roi; mais, que la Conjoncture presente m'
 “ obligeoit a le retenir chez moi, en attendant la
 “ Reponse de la Cour.

“ Cependant, j'ai fait assembler Mr. *de Vauter-*
 “ *mont* Commandant des Gardes, & les Comman-
 “ dans de tous les Corps qui sont en Garnison a
 “ *Dunkerque*, avec le Lieutenant de Roi; & leur ai
 “ communiqué la Proposition qui m'a ete faite, &
 “ le choix que je faisois de la Personne de Mr. *de*
 “ *Las*, Major de la Place, pour rendre a V. E. un
 “ Compte exact de toutes ces Choses. Il lui porte
 “ aussi les Lettres qui ont ete interceptees de M. *de*
 “ *Pimentel* a Mr. *de Verguest*, qui commande 4000
 “ Hommes dans *Bourbourg*, ou il lui mande de pre-
 “ parer toutes choses.

“ Nous manquons de beaucoup de choses dans
 “ *Dunkerque*: quelque Retranchement que je puisse
 “ faire sur le Pain, nous n'en scaurions avoir pour
 “ aller jusqu'au Mois d'Aout: l'Orge & le Hou-
 “ blon est fini pour la Biere, & on la retranche
 “ pour la Garnison a la Moitie de l'ordinaire. Les

* Pages 103, 105.

“ Maladies y font grandes ; & si *Gravelines* se perd,
 “ elles augmenteront, *Dunkerque* etant enferme sans
 “ aucune Communication par *Furnes*, *Bergues*,
 “ *Bourbourg*, & *Gravelines*.

“ C'est presentement a V. E. a juger par sa Pru-
 “ dence ordinarie, s'il ne seroit pas plus a propos de
 “ de s'accommoder avec *Cromwel*, et de le rendre
 “ Ennemi de l'*Espagne* & de tous les Revoltez qui
 “ sont en *France*, que de rejeter sa Proposition ; ce
 “ qui l'engagera de se mettre dans le Parti d'*Espagne*,
 “ & d'y joindre sa Flote & ses Troupes, pour atta-
 “ quer *Dunkerque* & *Gravelines* en meme Tems.
 “ M. de *Las*, qui a l'honneur d'etre a V. E. et qui
 “ sert avec grande Capacite & Fidelite, vous
 “ dira l'impossibilite qu'il y a de conserver *Grave-*
 “ *lines* et *Dunkerque*, si on perd l'Occasion de l'offre
 “ que fait le Protecteur *Cromwel*. Je suis, &c.'

This Letter, so remarkable in itself, is far more so in its Consequences: For it produced not only the splendid Embassy of M. *Bordeau*, whom the Cardinal sent to *Oliver*, to acknowledge him in Quality of Protector, and that of the Marquis de *Lede*, on the part of *Spain*, with the same Recognition, and on the same Design with the *French*, to court his Friendship ; but also, in the end, that astonishing and scandalous Alliance of *Mazarin* with *Cromwel*; who, after being long and humbly solicited by the Ambassadors of the two Crowns, at last determined against *Spain*, on Condition of the Cardinal's immediately expelling the King of *England*, his Mother, only Daughter of *France*, and all their Adherents, out of that Kingdom, who imagined they had found therein an inviolable Asylum. How glorious was it to *Oliver* to be courted with such Assiduity and Submission, by two of the most potent Princes of *Europe* ! But, at the same time, how has it stain'd the Character of those great Kings, one of them a near Relation, and the other Brother in Law, of the unfortunate *Charles*
 the

the first, to humble themselves so basely to his Oppressor and Murderer, and to be reduced to the scandalous Condescension of treating him as at least their Equal! On this Occasion he struck that insolent Medal, which was not only an Indignity to three great Monarchs, but a dishonour even to himself; which had for its Device, on one side, the Protector's Bust in Armour, crown'd with Laurel, with this Inscription, *Olivarius, Dei Gratia, Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ Protector*, and on the other, a Figure representing the Commonwealth, and Oliver offering his bare Backside to the two Ambassadors of *France* and *Spain*, who are striving for the Honour of kissing it: The former, whose Robes are sprinkled with *Fleurs de Lis*, as in a Passion, puts by the other, and with a scornful Air says to him, *Retire-toi, l'Honneur appartient au Roi mon Maître, Louis le Grand.*

In the second Volume there is a Negotiation, not indeed of the greatest Importance, but of a particularly curious Nature. It is concerning some Pictures of *Lewis XIV.* enriched with Jewels, which that Prince was to send the Count *d'Estrades*, to be presented to the principal Persons of *Holland*. This Affair shews plainly, with what Care this King and his Minister practised every Art for gaining and securing Partisans, wherever they were necessary.

J'ai donné Ordre, says the King to him, in a Letter of the second of *March*, 1662. *pour vous faire adresser au premier jour quelques Portraits, comme vous les avez demandez, outre celui que j'ai destine au Sieur Beverning; & on n'oubliera pas le Sieur de Ghent.* To this *d'Estrades* replies, in his to the King, of the 8th of *March*, "*Dunkerque*" "*n'inquiete plus a present les Députez, & ils sont*" "*tous si bons François, que plus de vingt Person-*" "*nes, des principaux des Villes, m'ont engagé*" "*de leur donner des Copies d'un grand Tableau,*" "*que*

“ que j’ai de votre Majesté dans mon Cabinet
 “ d’Audience ; a quoi je m’en vais faire travailler
 “ par plusieurs Peintres. Je tacherai de le faire
 “ mettre dans les Maisons de Ville, ainsi qu’ils
 “ avoient fait celui de *Henri le Grand*, pour marquer
 “ d’Avantage l’Estime & l’Affection qu’ils ont
 “ pour votre Majesté, & a fin qu’ils ayent souvent
 “ devant leurs yeux les deux veritables Protecteurs
 “ de leur Etat.” The King answers, *March* 23.

1663. *On travaille par mon Ordre pour faire que vous ayez les Portraits, que je veux envoyer avant la fin de l’Assemblée. Cependant, vous recevrez par cet Ordinaire celui que j’ai destine au Sieur de Beverning, Sur-Intendant des Finances, & les mille Pistoles pour Mr. le Baron de Ghent. Il y aura quatre autres Portraits enrichis de quelques Pierreries autour.* In another, of the 11th of May, the same Year, the King says, *Vous avez bien fait de ne pas vous commettre a un Refus, en donnant les Boetes de Portraits a ceux a qui vous les aviez destinez, & qui s’etoient deja declarez qu’ils ne les recevraient pas, si elles ne valoient au moins trois mille Francs. J’avois juge des Termes de vos Depeches, qu’il suffisoit que ces Presens fussent de la Valeur qu’ils vous ont ete envoyes : & je serois bien aise de sçavoir plus particulièrement quelles sont ces Personnes-la, leurs Qualitez, leurs Emplois, & le Fruit que vous avez pretendu tirer de ce Regal.*

These four Passages are some of those which, as I have already mentioned, were retrenched in the preceding Editions, and are restored in this before us.

I will not stay to make any Reflections on them : there are several that must naturally occur to every considerate Reader. I pass on to another Passage, one of the most remarkable in this Volume. It is extracted from a Letter of the King’s to the Count d’Estrades, of the 20th of April, 1663. “ Si ma
 “ Reponse,”

“ Reponse, & mes Resolutions, says that Prince, ont
 “ plu au *Sieur de Wit* au Point que vous me le man-
 “ dez, je ne suis pas, en echange, ni moins touché,
 “ ni moins edifié, de tout ce qu’il vous a dit de nou-
 “ veau, avec tant de Prudence, & de Temoignages
 “ d’Affection pour ma Personne, & pour ma Gloire,
 “ sur la meme Matiere. Et, a dire vrai, j’ai trouve
 “ qu’il vous a parle avec tant de Jugement, de Sin-
 “ cerite, & de Suffisance, que je ne puis, qu’en
 “ tout, & par-tout, approuver ses Sentimens; &
 “ pour Conclusion, que le meilleur Parti, que je
 “ puisse prendre en cette Affair, c’est d’en remettre
 “ la Direction en d’aussi bonnes Mains que les sien-
 “ nes, & d’en laisser entierement la conduite a son
 “ Zele, & a son Habilité. Il se voit, que Dieu
 “ l’a fait naitre pour de grandes choses, puis qu’a
 “ son age il a deja merite, depuis plusieurs annees,
 “ d’etre la plus considerable Personne de son Etat.
 “ Et je crois aussi, qu’ayant acquis un *aussi bon Ami*
 “ en lui, ce n’a pas ete un simple Effect du Ha-
 “ zard, mais de la Providence Divine, qui dispose,
 “ de bonne heure, les Instrumens dont elle veut se
 “ servir pour la Gloire de cette Couronne, & pour
 “ l’Avantage & la Surete des Provinces-Unies. De
 “ tous ces Sentimens, qui me sont fort naturels, &
 “ tres-sinceres, le dit *Sieur de Wit* peut tirer la con-
 “ sequence, quelle sorte de *haute Protection* il peut
 “ attendre de moi *en tous ses Interets*, si jamais
 “ l’occasion s’en offre.

To merit so illustrious a Friendship, so powerful
 a Support in all his Concernments, thus solemnly
 promised, and to render himself worthy of so flat-
 tering a Panegyric, artfully insinuated under the
Name of a Mighty Monarch; (for, no doubt, it
 was the Ministers only, who spoke in the Stile of
 their Master, here, and throughout this whole Ne-
 gotiation) I say, for these visionary Honours and
 Advantages, M. *de Wit*, as we have Reason to
 think,

think, sincerely attached himself to *France*: and it is indeed astonishing, that a Man of such Capacity, and Judgment in Affairs, should suffer himself to be deluded, by such Artifices, into a Disposition as detrimental to his own Country, as it was favourable to *Lewis XIV.* and which brought on his own Destruction. But it has always been the Practice of that Court, to dazzle those they are misleading, by a Profusion of Respect and Applauses.

I will take notice only of two other Letters, in the third Volume. They are short ones: However, they were castrated in the former Impressions of this Collection. The Passages retrenched are restored in this Edition; and I have, by way of Distinction, enclosed them with inverted Commas. The first of these Letters is from the Count *d'Esstrades* to Mr. *de Lionne*, of the 8th of *January*, 1665. in the following Terms. “ Si le Roi trouve que ses Interets
“ requierent qu’on conserve ces gens ici, & qu’il se
“ resolve de tenir le Traite de 1662, il sera absolu-
“ ment necessaire de faire quelques Gratifications aux
“ Deputez des Villes. *Richard* distribue de l’Argent
“ avec largesse. Je suis assure, qu’avec vingt mille
“ Livres, je ferai plus, & acheterai plus de Gens a nos
“ Interets, qu’il ne fera avec les vingt mille Ecus qu’il
“ a touches.” Si le Roi trouve mieux son compte
avec l’*Angleterre*, il n’y aura plus rien a menager
avec Messieurs les Etats.—La Proposition, que le
Roi a faite de l’Accommodement avec l’*Angleterre*,
a fort plu ici; & si Mr. *Van Beuningen* vous in-
commode a *Paris*, le Roi le peut envoyer en *Angle-*
terre. Tout ce qu’il ecrit ici est tenu comme un
Oracle: le Sieur *de Wit* n’a pas un Ami en qui il se
confie plus. Il faut observer, s’il vous plait, qui il
voit; car, si des Gens mal intentionnez lui debitent
des Nouvelles qui soient contraires aux Interets du
Roi, & qu’il les mande a ses Maitres, on aura bien
de la Peine a les detromper.

The other Letter, from which also I here give an Extract, is from the Count *d'Esstrades* to Mr. *de Lionne*, of the 17th of *September*, 1665. And thus he expresses himself: *J'ai sujet de croire, que la Contestation, que vous avez eue avec Mr. Van Beuningen, n'est pas venue de son Mouvement. Je le juge ainsi, par celle que j'ai eue presque en meme Tems avec les Deputez d'Amsterdam, sur la meme Matiere. Je reste fort satisfait de m'etre rencontre dans vos Sentimens; ma Reponse etant conforme a celle que vous avez faite au dit Van Beuningen.*—

“ *Le Pensionnaire d'Amsterdam, de Groot*, est fort
 “ contraire a tous les Interets du Roi. Il est tout-a-
 “ fait change de ce qu'il estoit il y a un an; & je re-
 “ marque, qu'il a de grandes Conferences avec
 “ *Richard*, Secetaire d'Ambassade d'*Espagne*. Je
 “ sçai, qu'il s'est plaint de deux choses: l'une, qu'on
 “ avoit maltraite son Beau-Frere *Montbas*; & l'autre,
 “ que le Roi lui avoit donne le mille Ecus de
 “ Pension du tems de Mr. *de Thou*, dont il lui est
 “ du deux annees avant qu'il fut Pensionnaire d'*Am-*
 “ *sterdam*. Je ne doute pas, que les *Espagnols* ne
 “ l'ayent gagne par present: car, il est fort inter-
 “ esse, comme tous ceux de ce Pais, ou je ne con-
 “ nois que quatre Personnes incorruptibles, qui sont
 “ Mess. *de Wit* Freres, & Mess. *Van Beuningen* &
 “ *Beverning*. Pour les autres, on disposera d'eux
 “ avec de l'argent, toutes les fois qu'on voudra.
 “ C'est ce qui fait, qu'on ne se peut assurer de rien,
 “ & que les affaires changent de face a toute heure.

In another Letter, which the Count *d'Esstrades* wrote to Mr. *de Lionne*, dated the 26th of *October*, 1665. towards the Close of it, we have these remarkable Words; which were likewise suppressed in the foregoing Editions. “ Si vous ne songez a
 “ les retenir par la crainte, & a les gagner dans les
 “ occasions par des gratifications, comme il s'est
 “ pratique de tous tems, ils nous echapperont.

“ ——— Il y en a peu qui soient exemis de corruption.

We should extend this Article too far, if we quoted like Examples from the following Volumes. It will suffice to observe in general, that many might be extracted from thence no less curious and important than those we have cited. As to the three last Tomes, which relate particularly to the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, we will only remark, that they more especially concern the *Ceremonial* observed between Ambassadors, and the Prerogatives of sovereign States on such Occasions.

Mr. *Neurſe*, to whom we are obliged for this correct and greatly improved Edition of the Work before us, has done well, to enclose the Castrations, which he has so judiciously restored, between Crotchets, that they may be instantly distinguished. And indeed he is entitled to our Acknowledgments for reproducing to the World so useful a Book, and so necessary in the present Conjunction of Affairs, when all *Europe* ought to be alarmed at and acquainted with the Views and Measures of *France*: and nothing can more readily effect this than a careful Perusal of these Memoirs.

ARTICLE X.

A Dissertation on the AMIANTHUS, or incombustible Thread. By M. MAHUDEL, of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres at Paris.

IT may seem that an Enquiry into the Nature of the *Asbestos*, or incombustible Thread, and the Manner of Spinning it, as it relates to *Natural Philosophy*, rather belongs to the Academy of Sciences, than to this Assembly. Notwithstanding, the Uses the Ancients are said to have applied it to, have such

a Connexion with the History of their Times, that I think the *Academy of Inscriptions* has a just Right to so curious a Subject.

The Manner in which *Pliny* speaks of it * has furnished Matter for several Dissertations; which, far from clearing up the Subject, have only served to multiply the dubious or fictitious Things said of it, and augment the Confusion of uncertain Conjectures.

In the Enumeration of the different Kinds of *Thread* known in his Time, this Historian says, “ We have found one Species which is incombustible, and which is called on that Account *living Thread*. Of this we have seen Table-Cloths made, which, after having been used at Entertainments, were thrown into the Fire to be cleansed; from whence they have been taken purer and whiter than if they had been washed in Water. It is with this Linnen that Winding-sheets have been made for Kings, in order to preserve their Ashes entire, amidst the Flames that consumed their dead Bodies. This Thread grows in the desert Countries inhabited by Serpents, and in those scorching Parts of *India*, where it never rains, and where the Heat seems to accustom it to resist the Fire. It is very difficult to spin, because it is short and brittle. Its reddish Colour gives it a Lustre in the Flames; and its Value, when found, equals that of the most precious Pearls. The *Greeks* call it *Asbestos*.

It was necessary to give this Passage of *Pliny* entire, to shew what Knowledge in his Time they had of this *Thread*, and to point out the Defects of a Description that is rather marvellous than exact. I shall endeavour to supply this by an historical and clear Account of the Nature of the *Mineral* this Thread is drawn from, by experimental Observa-

* Nat. Hist. lib. xix. cap. i.

tions on its Qualities, by shewing an easy Method of working it, and by discovering the Uses it has been put to in all Ages.

Pliny speaking of this Thread in that Part of his Book where he treats of Plants,* his not mentioning it where he describes the Stone *Amiantus*, and the Words of *Plutarch*, who says, that † *this Thread grows on a Rock*, are evident Proofs that the Ancients thought it produced from a Plant. Even later Writers, particularly *Pomet*, who has wrote *the History of Drugs*, have followed this Opinion; and he affirms, that he had in his Possession the Flax of such Plants, gathered on the marble Quarries of *Campan*.

But as none of the Botanists who have visited the *Pyrenean Mountains*, have ever observed such a Plant, and indeed from the component Parts of Vegetables it is evident they cannot be incombustible, this Opinion falls to the ground.

It would be in vain to think of supporting it, by quoting for an Example the Tree called *Mélése*, of the Wood of which *Vitruvius* supposes the Castle built, that is reported to have resisted the Flames which *Cæsar* set to it. It is as fruitless to alledge some Experiments lately made on certain pretended Pieces of Wood, which, when carefully examined, were found to owe their incombustible Quality, either to their being real Fossils, or Pieces of Wood petrified by mineral Springs, whose stony Particles had filled up their Pores.

It is now beyond Question, that this Thread is only drawn from a mineral Substance, of a very compact but flexible Nature, whose Parts are disposed in shining Fibres, of a silver Colour, very fine, and ranged in perpendicular Lines, united together by an earthy Substance, capable of being se-

* Lib. xxxvi. c. 19. † *Plutarch. de oraçul. defect.*

parated from them in Water, and of resisting the Action of Fire.

This Mineral, to which the *Greeks* have sometimes given the Name of *Amianthus*, because of its incombustible Nature, sometimes that of *Asbestos*, from its Resemblance to Lime-stone, which, being once flaked, can undergo no further Change, has since retained both these Names, by which it is equally known.

That of *feathered Alum* has been given it very unjustly by *Pomet* and other late Writers, since there is a wide Difference between these two Minerals, whatever Resemblance there may be in their outward Structure. Its styptic Taste, its Dissolution in all Waters that dissolve Salts; its Cracking, and Change in the Fire, are Qualities that sufficiently distinguish *Alum* from the *Amianthus*, to which they no way belong.

We need not be surprized at the high Price this curious Stuff bore in *Pliny's* Time,† since it was then only found in the Deserts of *India*, in *Eubæa* near *Corinth*, and in the Isle of *Crete*, from all which Places it took its Name. In our Times it is become more common; for, without going so far for it as *India*, *Japan*, *China*, or *Egypt*, we get it now from most of the Isles of the *Archipelago*, from *Cyprus*, *Negropont* in the *Morea*, and the Isle of *Corfica*. It is also found in several Parts of *Italy*, especially in the Mountains of *Volterra* in *Naples*, near *Sestri* in the Republic of *Genoa*, in *Bavaria*, in *England*, in *Spain*, on the *Pyrenean* Mountains, in *France* in the County of *Foix* near *Roussillon* and near *Montauban*.

So great a Diversity of Mines forms a great Variety of *Species* of the *Amianthus*, either with respect to the Colour of the Superficies of the Stone (for, with regard to the fibrous Parts, they are always of

† Cum inventum est, æquet pretium Margaritarum, Plin. lib. xix. c. 1.

a silver grey, or red) as light brown, or blackish, or iron coloured, or of a greenish brown; or else with regard to the Size of the Fibres, which in the Stones that come from some Parts of *Italy*, from *Cyprus*, and from *England*, are short; in those of *Corfica* and *Crete*, long and delicate; and in the Stones from the *Pyrenees*, coarser. If in the great Variety of Pieces of the *Amiantus*, preserved in the Cabinets of the Curious, there are some a Foot high, whose Fibres are of equal Length, we may conclude there are others yet longer; and it is by the close Contexture of these Fibres, so like those of some ligneous Substances, that many People have been so far deceived, as to mistake for Pieces of incombustible Wood, these *Stones* of the *Amiantus*.

The Monks, always inclined to turn the Credulity of the Vulgar to their own Profit, make a most gainful Use of this Mineral, by palming pieces thereof on their Devotees, for Fragments of the real Cross: an Imposture which they authorise by the pretended Miracle of its being inconsumable by the most violent Fire.

It is this Property indeed which is the true Characteristic of the *Amiantus*, and by which it essentially differs from all other mineral Stones: and, if the Fire, the strongest Dissolvent we know, has no Power over it, what Means have we left for obtaining a true Knowledge of the Principles whereof it is composed?

It has been experienced, that a Piece of it, weighing half an Ounce, laid on a burning chafing-dish, and made as red as one of the Coals among which it was put, lost nothing of its Weight.

The same Piece, dipped in Oil, being laid on the same Coals, emitted a Flame, as long as the unctuous Matter lasted, but still lost nothing of its own Weight.

Half a Pound of the Stone being beat to pieces with a Hammer, then put into a luted Glass, and

set in a Furnace, there rose only a small Quantity of Flegm; which happened to another Species of this Mineral in a second Operation.

Exposed to a reverberating Heat, it only lost its silver grey Colour, which changed to reddish, in the Fibres that remained united; while such Particles as fell off from the external Surface appeared to be more affected by the Fire: However, the Whole retained its full Weight.

It is only to the Fire of a *Lens*, or Burning-glass, that we have observed the *Amianthus* yield: Exposed to this, its Fibres instantly separated, then lost their Shape, and run into small Globules of Glass.

If the Proof of the Incombustibility of the *Amianthus* depended on this Experiment, unknown to the Ancients, it must be given up; but at the same time it must be owned, that no Solid we know of is able to resist the solar Beams thus united: and as this Mineral remains unaltered in all other Fires, it may well enough be still considered as incombustible.

The Manner of Spinning and Weaving it, tho' practised by the Orientals, was not well known either to the *Greeks* or *Romans*; since, except *Strabo*, who little more than mentions it, none of their Authors have described it. *Pliny* himself seems ignorant on this Head; and it has long since puzzled the Antiquaries, who have placed it amongst the lost Arts.* For my part, if we suppose they ever could do it without mixing it with something else, I believe we attribute to them an Impossibility.

However, as I might quote Instances of divers Pieces of this incombustible Linnen that have been seen and admired in different Ages, it is certain that some Person must have possessed the Secret of working the *Amianthus*, in the Method wherein only I think it is practicable.

* Pancirolli. de rebus perditis, lib. iv.

John Baptista Porta,* who had seen it done at Venice by a Cyprian Woman, treats it as a Trifle; which probably made him neglect to describe it. *Ciampini* has supplied this Defect;† and the Method he prescribes I have improved as follows.

Chuse that Kind of *Amianthus*, whose Fibres are longest and most silky. Break it gently with the Hammer, and not in a Mortar, for fear of pulverising it. Lay these Fragments in warm Water; and after infusing them a Time proportionable to the Stiffness of the earthy Particles, stir them frequently with your Fingers, separating the mineral Filaments as much as possible, till they insensibly become freed from that Sort of chalky Earth, that united them; change this Water five or six times, till you see by its Transparency that the Fibres are sufficiently cleansed.

After this Lotion lay them on a Basket-Frame, to strain off the Water; then dry them in the Sun; and when they are dry, card them gently with two fine Cards; gather the Flax, thus prepared, carefully, and lay it between the Cards, which may serve instead of a Distaff; because from their Extremities you may draw the Threads as they present themselves.

Having then on the Table a Bobin full of common Thread, pretty fine, take from it one Thread, as you draw two or three of the *Amianthus*; and with a Spindle, governed by a Whirl, unite all the Threads together, so that the common Thread may be wholly covered by those of the Stone, and by this Means make one Body therewith.

To facilitate the Spinning, you may have a little Olive-Oil in a Pot, to dip your Fingers into; which will secure them from the Corrosion of the Mineral, as well as give a pliable Turn to the Thread.

* *Magiæ natural.* lib. iv.

† *Ciampini de Lino incombustibili, sive Lapide Amianto;* Romæ 1691.

It is easy, by this Means, to lengthen or twine the Threads to any Degree; and, by putting them in the Fire, to destroy the Oil and Linnen Thread employed in spinning them.

At the *Pyrenees* they actually weave this Thread of the *Amiantus* into Hatbands, Girdles, and Garters; which is enough to prove the Possibility of its being wrought. It is certain, that with a little more Care very curious Pieces might be composed of it.

However, if we could arrive at such Perfection in this Art, as to make the Linnen so celebrated by the Ancients, even both finer and in greater Quantity, it must still be acknowledged, from the friable and brittle Quality of the Stone, that it could be of no great Service for common Use. Pieces of it would be only valuable for their Curiosity.

To grease and dirty them, in order to see them cleansed by the Fire, is all that the Writers, before and after *Pliny*, observe as remarkable in these *amiantine* Cloths. *Charles V.* had several Napkins of this Sort, with which at great Entertainments he diverted the Lords of his Court. Since his Time several Noblemen, and even rich Merchants at *Rome, Venice, Dresden, Louvain*, and other Cities, have enjoyed this Pleasure at less Cost than that great Emperor.

What *Hierocles* relates of the *Brachmans* wearing Garments of this Linnen, only shews, that the *Amiantus* was plentiful among them; but no way proves, that the Habits of those Philosophers were commonly made of it. Their incombuſtible Quality (which this Author says they regarded as a divine Symbol) as well as their Readiness to fret, fitted them only for Robes of State, to be worn on particular Occasions.

The Use of Sheets or Shirts of this Linnen in burning the Dead, to preserve their Ashes unmixed, would be a Matter of Importance in the *Roman* History, if it could be once proved. But there is little Stress to be laid on the Conjectures of Commentators,

mentators, who, from a Funeral Custom which *Pliny* confines to Kings, suppose it common to all the *Roman Nobility*.

It is true, the Veneration paid by these People to the Ashes of their deceased Friends, gives us Room to suppose, that they took the utmost Precaution to keep them from mingling with those of the Wood that was employed to consume them. It is not likely *Artemisia* would have drank the Ashes of her dear Husband *Mausoleus*, if she had not been certain they were pure from any other Particles; nor that *Agrippina* would have carried in her Bosom those of *Germanicus*, if she had not believed them genuine.

The Care that the Parents of Exiles, who died distant from their native Country, took to bring home their Ashes, the Funeral Pomp of Generals and Pretors who died abroad in their Charge, the Honours paid to the Urns that inclosed their Ashes in their Passage to *Rome*, the Costliness of those Urns, both for Matter and Workmanship,* are convincing Proofs of the Care that was taken to preserve the Ashes of the Deceased; but are far from demonstrating, that for this Purpose they employed the Linnen of the *Amianthus*.

I might shew Reasons for our doubting of this, notwithstanding the Discovery lately made of a Tomb, placed in the *Vatican*, in which is seen a Winding-sheet of this Linnen, nine *Roman Palms* in Length, and seven in Breadth, yet full of Ashes, and burnt Bones. I might alledge, as sufficient, innumerable Observations made in all Countries, from the Discovery of sepulchral Urns and covered Tombs, in which were found Pieces of Wood and Bones half burnt, mixed with the Ashes; which could never have happened, if the *amiantine* Linnen had been used.

* Plutarch. in Demetrio. Eur'op. 35. Niphi. 76. Ammian. Marcellin. 19. 2. Herodian. 3. 15.

I have myself witnessed this Confusion in more than 300 Urns of Clay found in *Provence* about 15 Years ago; * each of which, on a narrow Inspection, I perceived to contain three or four times the Quantity of Ashes that the Body of the largest Man, when burnt, could produce.

If we may judge from *Propertius*, the Ashes of an entire human Body amount only to about an Handful:† And this Sentiment of the Ancients is founded on Experiments made by a chymical *Analysis* of the Body; so that since the Ashes usually found in these Urns greatly exceed that Quantity, we must conclude, they were not separated by the Linnen of the *Amianthus*, but were mixed with the Ashes of the Funeral Pile.

It may be objected, that these Tombs and Urns, which I have mentioned, belong only to People of mean Condition, hastily burnt; as in Times of public Calamity, or such whose Poverty scarce allowed them Wood enough, much less the Linnen of the *Asbestos*, which was undoubtedly sold at a high Rate.

But granting us to have recovered the Urns of the Emperors themselves, acknowledged such by the Fineness of their Materials, and, if you will, by their Inscriptions; and that the Ashes they contain were free in appearance from all foreign Mixture; I shall yet prove, that this Separation might be effected without the Help of the *Amianthus*, only by a careful Observation of the Hearth, which always answered to the Position of the Body on the Funeral Pile.

Marleanus § asserts, that this Place or Hearth was by the *Romans* called *Urinum*. *Servius* || distinguishes it from the other Parts of the Funeral Pile, by the same Name. But *Festus*, explaining this Word,

* This Discovery was occasioned by an Inundation, which swept off two Foot of the Soil of the Field where they were found,

† Et sim quod digitis quinque levatur onus.

§ Topogr. urb. Romæ, 4. 14. || In *Æneide* III.

says, it signified a Vase or Vessel, destined in burning the Body, to receive the Ashes.

This last Opinion seems to me the most probable, from two ancient Inscriptions in *Meursius*; † wherein the *Ustrinum* is mentioned, as a portable Stone, which some Funerary Laws, or Testaments, forbid to be employed in erecting the Tombs of those for whose Funeral Piles they had served. We may gather from hence, that this *Ustrinum* was a kind of Hearth-stone, hollowed to receive the Ashes of the Body as it consumed, and by its Rims prevented their Diffipation with the Wind.

The Wood that composed the Pile, was placed about two Feet distant from this Stone, all round it, and evenly disposed in the Form of a Parallelogram or oblong Square; bordering on which were set Branches of Cypress, to serve as a Preservative against the disagreeable Smell of the burning Body.

The Men whose Business it was to attend the Funeral Pile, were People of the meanest Rank, called *Ustores* and *Bustuarii*. These took care lest any Branch of the Cypress should by the Wind be blown towards the Corpse, and mingle its Ashes with those of the Body: They also had long Forks, wherewith they pushed back the Faggots that gave way, lest they should fall into the *Ustrinum* or Hearth.

After the Pile was consumed, the Priests carefully inspected the Hearth, or Place we have called the *Ustrinum*, to distinguish the Remains of the Body from all foreign Matter, and separate them into an Urn, which, according as the Quantity of Ashes or Bones prevailed, was called *Cinerarium* or *Ossuarium*.

This Ceremony of collecting the Remains of the Dead, they termed *Reliquias legere*; and it was so essential a Duty of their Religion, that the greater the Quality of the Person deceased was, the more

† *Huic monumento ustrinum applicari non licet* ——— The other; *Ad hoc monumentum ustrinum applicari non licet.* *Meursius de Funere*, cap. 41.

scrupulously they performed it; which would have been entirely unnecessary, if these Bodies had been wrapped in the Linnen of the *Amiantbus*, since in that Case they had been sure of no Mixture. Besides, had this been the Custom, fewer Fragments of Bones would have remained; for they might have then exposed the Body to the utmost Fury of the Flames, when nothing of the Fuel could mix with it; whereas in burning the Carcases of the Emperors themselves, several Pieces of the Bones were left unconsumed, and put into the Urn.

We learn from *Suetonius*, that in this Manner they selected the Remains of the Body of *Augustus*; nor does he once mention, on this solemn Occasion, the Use of the *Amiantbus*. *Eutropius* gives the same Account of the Ashes of *Trajan*, which were placed in an Urn of Gold on his Column. *Xiphilinus* says the same of those of *Septimius Severus*, inclosed in a Vase of Porphyry.*

To conclude; If this Use of the *amiantbine* Linnen had been known in *Greece*, would *Strabo* or *Dioscorides*, Natives thereof, have forgot to mention such a Circumstance in their Description of it? *Pliny* lived after too many Emperors, to be ignorant of its being employed in their Funerals, if it had been so. He rather seems to hint the contrary, by what he says of the Rarity of this Linnen, and the high Value set on it; insomuch that in the Time of *Nero*, a Napkin that Emperor had of it was regarded as a Treasure.

Supposing the Winding-sheet of this Stuff, preserved in the *Vatican Library*, to be antique; we can only conclude, it belonged to some particular Prince, who kept it as a Treasure for himself, and was resolved it should perform that Office for no other: since it is the only one of this Kind has been yet found, in all the ancient Urns or Tombs

* Xiph. 76.

that have yet been discovered; not excepting those of the Emperors.

Another Use of the Thread of the *Asbestos* was to form perpetual Wicks, which had the Property of burning continually, without being wasted, or needing to be snuffed, whatever Quantity of Oil the Lamp contained. The Heathens employed these in their Temples, for the Lamps consecrated to their Deities.

Amidst the Wonders that have been reported of this incombustible Thread, we may reckon what *Pausanias* relates * of a Wick of it, which, without being touched by any one, flamed for a whole Year in a Lamp of Gold which *Callimachus* had consecrated to the Temple of *Minerva* at *Athens*. *Solinus* speaks much † of another Lamp that burnt the same Time before a Statue of this Goddess in a Temple she had in *England*. If we may credit Pope *Damasus* ‡ in a Point of natural History, there was in his Time a perpetual Lamp, in the *Baptistery* at *Rome*, lighted by such a Wick, which had lasted ever since its Foundation by *Constantine*.

These Facts, related with a sort of Admiration by the Authors here cited, shew us how scarce the *amiantine* Thread was in those Days. It grew so common at last, that *Lewis Vivez*, a *Spaniard*, in the Time he was at *Paris* (about the Beginning of the 15th Century) tells us, that these Wicks were used in many Places of that City. It is surprising, as their Usefulness is so well known by Experience, that they are not again brought into Practice.

I have seen, that the Filaments of the *Amiantus*, even without being freed from their terrene Particles by Lotion, being put in a Vessel of Oil, or any unctuous Matter, will continue lighted as long as the Pabulum remains.

* *Pausan.* in *Atticis.* † In *Polyhistor.* c. 12.

‡ In act. *Sancti Sylvestri.*

Licetus, *Ferrarius*, and some other Antiquaries, who have treated of the Lamps of the Ancients, to persuade us of the Duration of sepulchral Fires, which they thought perpetual if secured from the Air, have pretended to explain this *Phænomenon* by the *amiantbine* Wicks: But, as they suppose two Facts, first, that such a Wick has been found in one of these Lamps; and, next, that it could continue to burn after its Aliment was consumed; their Assertions are not to be regarded.

A Method has been found of employing even the shortest Fibres of the *Amiantbus*, to make a kind of Paper, which we may call Everlasting; because, as often as it is wrote on, it may be cleaned by Fire, without consuming. Some Years ago, this Paper has been seen in several Cabinets of *Germany*. A Leaf of it, considerably large, is preserved in that of his *Danish* Majesty; and we are well assured they have made it at *Oxford*.

With regard to the preserving of Bodies from Fire, by wrapping them in the *amiantbine* Linnen, it's only a Chimera. As all the Parts of this mineral Substance are susceptible of Heat, they must also communicate it to the Bodies they contain. It is easy to try this, by inclosing a Stick in a Piece of it, and then putting it into the Fire: We shall find it reduced to Ashes, while the Linnen remains entire.

This Notion deceived the devout King of *Tartary*, mentioned by *Langius*,* who, to preserve from Fire a Handkerchief on which the Face of Christ was impressed, kept it folded in a Piece of *amiantbine* Linnen.

I might here mention several other Properties ascribed to the *Amiantbus*; but as they are mostly fabulous, I shall here finish this *Dissertation*, in which I have endeavoured to collect all the Particulars I could find certain and curious concerning this singular Production of *Nature*.

* Lett 66.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
WORKS of the LEARNED.

For OCTOBER, 1743.

A R T I C L E XI.

*The Life of JOHN PHILIP BARATIER, M. A.
and Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences
at Berlin. By M. FORMEY, M. D. S. E.
and Professor of Philosophy at Berlin.*



THE History of Men of Letters, or those Particulars that relate to their Actions or Writings, are now become a considerable and curious Branch of Learning. We are fond of the minutest Details on this Subject, and curious to discover the most private Anecdotes relating to it. Nor is it without Reason, since it is not a simple Amusement only to inform ourselves of the Characters of Authors, and their Situation and Circumstances in Life, but it is often the surest Way to understand their Writings, to judge of the Views with which they wrote, and to interpret the Sense of many Passages or Reflections, unintelligible to those who are ignorant of the Education or Country of the Authors,

or unacquainted with the particular Motives which influenced their Sentiments. A Book is often the Picture of its Author : It must therefore be agreeable to the Reader to have it in his Power to compare the Copy with the Original.

But tho' neither the prevailing Taste of the Age, nor the abovesaid Reasons, should justify the Attempt of writing the Life of a Philosopher ; I think I may be allowed an Exception in favour of the Person, who is the Subject of this Treatise. He is distinguish'd in so particular a Manner, and by such uncommon Circumstances, that he seems justly to challenge this Distinction. History has mentioned several celebrated Children, but none appears to be compared with this, as I hope to convince the Reader. Curiosity alone is sufficient to claim our Attention to such a Prodigy. But a philosophical Mind, which can be at the Pains to trace the Progress, the boundless Views, the unwearied Researches and, in a Word, all the prodigious Studies of this extraordinary Youth, will find ample Ground for Reflection, and be satisfied that this literary Phenomenon is not less worthy his Meditation than those of the material World itself.

It is not however a Panegyric that I write. I have no Design, nor indeed is there any Necessity for me, to heighten the marvellous of the Facts which I relate. The naked Truth would even appear romantic, if the Particulars mentioned were not of so fresh a Date, and witnessed by such Numbers living. I shall follow exactly the Memoirs given me by the worthy Father to the Deceased, and if I add any Circumstances, the Reader may be assured that I have them from Persons of Credit, who were Eye-witnesses. He will also excuse some Articles which would appear trifling in the Life of any other Person of Learning,

ing, but are essential in this, since, by an extraordinary Assemblage of Circumstances, I describe at once the History of a Philosopher and a Child. Both these Characters will discover themselves alternately, and serve to heighten and set off each other.

John Philip Baratier was born at *Schwobach*, *His Birth.* near *Nuremburgh*, in the Margravate of *Brandenburg Anspach*, *January* 19, 1721. His Parents were *Francis Baratier*, Minister of the *French Church* of that Town, and *Anne Charles*.

At three Years of Age he was capable of reading correctly, to which Point his Father had brought him, by amusing him, without Books, or even without his knowing or perceiving that he had learn'd to read, till he became at once astonish'd and delighted to find, that the Books put into his Hands reason'd and talk'd like himself, and could serve him for Company when alone. This Discovery was the *Æra* of his Passion for Reading, which still increased in proportion to the Treasures he discovered by it. He now spent his whole Time in his Father's Library, opening the Volumes, and turning over the Leaves, in a sportive Manner, like an Infant, as he was.

When his Father perceived he could read tolerably, he artfully from Time to Time placed in his Way a Book of Prints; and as care was taken to have these bound in gilded Paper, to strike his Sight, he catch'd them up eagerly, and examin'd them with great Joy, carefully reading the Explanation of the Figures. When he was tired this way, he began to prattle with his Books, or to move them from one Place to another; most frequently he piled them up like Towers, Castles, or Bridges, as suited his childish Fancy: Thus passing away his Time with them in Diversion,

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which at once served him to Exercise both his
Mind and his Body.

The *French* was his Mother-Tongue, join'd to
some few Words of *High Dutch*. Insensibly, his
Father began to talk *Latin* to him, by intermin-
gling some few Words of this Language in his
common Conversation, which were readily under-
stood from the Connection of the Discourse, or
other Circumstances, without the Necessity of in-
terrupting it to explain them. Great Care was
taken in this Point not to constrain him, nor force
him to answer in the same Tongue; till at last his
Ear being accustomed to the Inflection and Sound
of the *Latin* Words, he began of himself to utter
them at random, and (if I may be allow'd the
Expression) to bandy them about for his Re-
creation. As he was very talkative, and took
great Pleasure in prattling to his Father, the
good Man took care so to improve this Dispo-
sition of his Son, as to turn it which way best
answered his Purpose, either to learn him new
Words, or to point to him their Construction and
Terminations: all this was done without requiring
of him either Attention or Reflection, or discove-
ring any formed Design of instructing him.

This Manner of proceeding, under the Shew
of Amusement, in walking with him either abroad
or at home, by the Blessing of God, succeeded so
well, that in less than a Twelve-Month, when he
was near the End of his fourth Year, the *Latin*
became as familiar to him as the *French* and
the *High Dutch*, and at last grew his favourite
Tongue; tho' as yet he knew neither Grammar,
Conjugation, Declination, nor had ever got a
Syllable by Heart. These three Languages he
constantly spoke without mixing or confounding
them, talking *French* to his Mother, *Latin* to his
Father, and *High Dutch* to the Servant-Maid, or
the

the Neighbour's Children who came to play with him. He was also furnish'd with Books of Prints in these three Languages, suitable to his Age, such as are printed at *Nuremburg* and *Augsburg*. These he run over, while the Charm of Novelty lasted; after which it was necessary to conceal them for some Weeks, or to buy him new ones. During this Time his Father learned him to write insensibly without Ink or Paper, as he had form'd him to read without Book; and taught him *Latin* without a Grammar.

About the Middle of his fifth Year, in *July* 1725, his Father enter'd young *Baratier* in the *Greek*; but by a Method so imperceptible, and by such an easy Introduction, that this Language gave him as little Trouble to master as the preceding. The Preceptor was only obliged to a greater Degree of Attention and Patience, to learn his Pupil a Tongue which he could not teach him by Conversation.

The Means he used were, however, so successful, that at the End of fifteen Months the Child perfectly understood all the *Greek* historical Books of the *Old* and *New Testament*, and readily translated them into *Latin*; and all this, not only without his having a Word of Grammar, but even without being acquainted with the Name or Order of the Letters of the *Greek* Alphabet.

To conclude, his Father, by the same Way, conducted him to the Knowledge of the *Hebrew*. This Study, which he began in *October* 1726, when he was five Years and eight Months old, was as little difficult to him as the former. In a Year's Time he perfectly knew all the Books of the *Hebrew* Code, even without knowing either the *Hebrew* Letters or Vowels, and without perplexing himself with that Confusion of Rules, which makes Learning a Burthen to Youth. It would not, however, from this Observation, which

has been repeated, with Regard to each Language, have the Reader imagine, that Mr. *Baratier*, the Father, either neglected or despised the Art of Grammar, or that the Son was ignorant of it. He only learnt it by a Way different from that in which it is taught at the Schools.

Mr. *Baratier*, perceiving his Son much delighted with the *Hebrew*, took Care to improve this Disposition to the utmost Advantage. He employ'd the three following Years in cultivating this Tongue; at the End of which Time, his Scholar was so expert in the *Hebrew* Text, that he not only could at first Sight, from a Bible without the Points, give the Sense of the Original in *Latin* or *French*, but he could also *extempore* translate the *Latin* or *French* Versions into *Hebrew*, almost Word for Word, or substitute equivalent Expressions in the Place of any Terms he was not yet Master of. This he perform'd, not only with Regard to the historical Books, but even *Job*, the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, and *Isaiab*, which are known to be the most difficult Books of the *Old Testament*, and which he translated agreeably to the Version of *Castalio*, the least literal that we have. In 1728, and the eighth Year of his Age, he had all the *Hebrew* *Psalms* by Heart, tho' he had taken no other Pains to learn them, than frequently reading them to his Father. At the same Time, and by the same Method, he made himself Master of that Collection of *Hebrew* Sentences, which *Henry Opius* has publish'd under the Title of *Biblia Parva*, &c. which he read into *Hebrew* from any given Version. He also wrote with his own Hand this Collection in the *Hebrew* Characters, substituting his own *Latin* Version instead of the inelegant one of *Arias Montanus*, which appears in the Edition of *Opius*. He compos'd about the same Time a *Dictionary* of the most rare and difficult *Hebrew* Words, interspersed

terspersed here and there with critical Remarks and Philological Observations, very curious for one of his Years. These two Pieces were finished in 1730, when he was between the Age of nine and ten. The first contained 304 Pages in 8vo, the second about 400 in 4to.

Having thus acquir'd the *Hebrew* to such a Degree, as to compose in it himself, both in Prose and Verse, our young *Baratier* had a Curiosity to read the *Rabbinical* Writers, which was increased by his Perusal, at that Time, of a great Number of Authors in Philology and the sacred Antiquities. He was soon assisted with Materials for his Enquiry at *Schwobach*, where several learned *Lutheran* Divines and wealthy *Jews*, who had large Libraries, lent him all the Books he desired. That nothing might be wanting to complete his Wishes, there was purchas'd for him the great *Rabbinical Bible*, printed at *Amsterdam*, in 4 vol. fol. 1726-1728. The Attention with which he read it may be judged by the Account he gave of that Work, in a Letter to Mr. *Le Maitre*, inserted in the Beginning of the XXVIth Tome of the *Bibliotheca Germanica*. This was the first Sketch of his Knowledge that the Publick received, but his extraordinary Talents were not till then unknown, and the *Journalists* * had often mentioned him to his Advantage.

* See the *Nova Literaria Circuli Franconici* for the Beginning of the Year 1725. The *Cobourg* Gazettes, and the Supplement of the Gazette of *Amsterdam* of April 30, 1726. The Literary Gazette of *Leipzig*, May 9, 1726. Those of *Vienna*, *Augsburgh*, and others of the same Year. To these we may add the Relation publish'd by his Father at *Stetin* in *Higb Dutch*, in 4to. Ann. 1727, entitled *Merkwürdiges Nachricht eines frühzeitigen Gelehrten Kindes*. An Extract of which is in the *Bibliotheca Germanica*, Tom. XVI. Pag. 28. After this he was often mentioned in the Journals and News Papers of *Germany*, *England*, and *Switzerland*, and even in the *Journal de Trévoux* at *Paris*.

When his Father found him engaged in these *Rabbinical* Mazes, he thought proper to give him the Reins, and leave him at Liberty to march in a Road where he had no Mind to follow him, tho' he kept an Eye on his Progress. It was then that this surprising Child, without Teacher or Instruction, excepting a Grammar to shew him the Letters, run over, at his Leisure Hours, with an astonishing Diligence, an incredible Number of *Rabbinical* Writers of all Kinds. Not contented with the great Bible of Rabbi *Moses*, Son of *Simeon Francfort*, he read all he could lay his Hands on, *Talmudists*, Commentators, Historians, and even such Romances as are wrote in the vulgar Characters of the *German Jews*. These he read, as we usually do Novels, to divert himself, and laugh at the extravagant Reveries they contain. He often entertain'd his Parents by reading to them, in the *French* or *Latin*, the most curious Passages he found.

This *Rabbinick* Scene lasted above a Year, in 1731 and 1732, 'till his twelfth Year. He made several Extracts, Collections, and Versions, all attended with Remarks, which yet remain among his Manuscripts. His Father, at length, to recal him from such frivolous Studies, and to engage him to write a better Hand, proposed to him the Composition or Translation of some Piece, promising him to get it printed, if the Manuscript was fair enough to offer to a Bookseller. He relished the Proposal well enough, so that it only remained to chuse a suitable Work. Amongst many *Hebrew* Authors that held him in Suspence, his Father at last got him to fix on the *Travels* of Rabbi *Benjamin*, Son of *Jonas* of *Tudela*; as the Treatise was both short and entertaining. He set

of November, 1727. but above all in the *Bibliotheca Germanica*, where an exact Account is given of his Progress in Learning, and his Productions.

about

about this with the greater Pleasure, as he had observed many Errors in the two *Latin* Translations publish'd of this Work, by *Arius Montanus* and *Constantine L'Empereur*, with which he was much dissatisfy'd, as he was indeed with most of the Versions he met with from the original *Hebrew*.

He began this Undertaking in *December* 1731, and, employing only an Hour or two in a Day, he finish'd it in a Month. But as his Author appeared to him extremely dull, obscure, and even in some Places ridiculous, he resolv'd to add a few explanatory and critical Notes. These insensibly swell'd into Dissertations, which form'd a second Volume, and sufficiently discover'd at that Time the Strength of his Judgment, and his Skill in oriental Learning. This Design took him up 'till near the Middle of the Year 1732*.

About this Time ended the *Hebrew* and *Rabbinical* Studies of young Mr. *Baratier*. He had with these intermix'd the Knowledge of the *Chaldaic*, *Syriac* and *Arabick*, which he attain'd so far, as to read not only the Scripture, but other Writings in those Languages †; thus he read some Chapters of the *Alcoran*, and the *Saracen* History of *El-Macin* in *Arabic* ‡.

He grew of himself tir'd at last, or rather disgusted with the Dreams of the *Rabbins*; and his Father, who had felt some Concern to see

* It was not printed till the Year 1734, at *Amsterdam*, in 2 Vol. 8vo. by the Company, with this Title, "The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, Son of Jonas of Tudela, thro' Europe, Asia, and Africa, from Spain to China: wherein are contain'd many Things remarkable relating to History and Geography, particularly the State of the Jews in the XIIth Century. Translated from the *Hebrew*, and improv'd with Notes and Dissertations, Critical and Historical, on the Work, by J. P. Baratier, Student in Divinity."

† See the Extract in the *Bibliotheca Germanica*, Tom. XXX. Pag. 115. & seq.

‡ See *Ockley's History of the Saracens*.

him taken up with such learned Trifles, quickly gave him a new Scene in Books of Philosophy and Divinity. Scarce had he look'd into these Authors, when what his Father foresaw happen'd: He was quite enamour'd. He might have been led to a Love of these Subjects sooner, but his wise Preceptor was willing to give him Time to ripen in the Knowledge of the oriental Tongues. Solid Studies presently took Place of the dry Lucubrations of Grammatical Literature. He soon found, however, the great Benefit of the latter, and how necessary and useful a Foundation it laid for future Knowledge. As he was perfectly acquainted with the Languages, he always read the antient Authors in their Originals. He declared he found every Moment such gross Mistakes in the Translations of the Best Writers, that he paid little Regard to any, whom he had not read in the Language he wrote in. Hence he began, of his own Accord, to read all the *Greek* Authors he could meet with, being desirous to perfect himself in that Language which his *Rabbinical* Pursuits had made him neglect. In a short Time he went so far, by the Aid of some of the best Books in it, that he could read and understand the *Greek* Editions of the XVIth Century, notwithstanding the Difficulty of the Abbreviations, as easily as he did the *French*, *Latin*, or *Hebrew*.

He now apply'd himself to the Study of the *Greek* Fathers, and the Councils of the four first Ages of the Church, which soon gave him a Taste for Ecclesiastic Antiquity and Divinity, and open'd to him a vast Field for Reflections, Observations, and Dissertations, of which some have been published, and the rest remain in Manuscript. He found, in particular, Employment for his Genius on this Subject, by reading a Treatise publish'd in

1726, by M. *Samuel Crellius* *, the Descendant and Scholar of the celebrated Unitarian Divine, wherein the Author endeavours to prove that instead of the Expression of the Evangelist St. *John*, Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, *The Word was GOD*, we should read Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. *The Word BELONG'D TO GOD*. Several Divines, in particular, M. *Budæus* †, had occasionally criticis'd on this bold Reading of *Crellius*, and refuted several Passages in his Book. Young *Baratier* read this Piece with extraordinary Attention; upon which his Father, who sought an Occasion of cutting out Work for him, that might fix his Thoughts from wandering, suggested to him the Design of confuting this Author solidly, giving him Hopes the Work might be publish'd, and gain him Reputation.

This Proposal he accepted with great Zeal and Joy, expressing a real Indignation at the Sophistry, false Reasoning, and rash Criticisms of that conceal'd Author. He began this Work in *September 1733*, being then in his thirteenth Year, and finished it about the End of the following Year, as appears from the Preface, dated at *Schwobach, January 18, 1734*, the last Day of his fourteenth Year. This Piece was published in 1735, at *Nuremburg*, in 8vo. by *John Frederic Rudiger*, under the Title of *Anti-Artemonius* ‡. It was divided into five Parts. In

* This Book was publish'd under the Title of *L. M. Artemonius*. *L. M.* signifies *Lucas Mellierus*, which is the Anagram of *Samuel Crellius*. He had before under the same Title publish'd a Treatise, entituled, *Fides primorum Christianorum e Barnabæ Clementis & Hermæ scriptis demonstrata*. Mr. *Grabe* had refuted this Piece, and the *Artemonius* is a Reply to Mr. *Grabe*.

† In a Work, intitled *Ecclesia Apostolica*.

‡ *Anti-Artemonius seu initium Evangelii S. Johannis Apostoli ex antiquitate Ecclesiasticâ, adversus iniquissimam L. M. Artemonii Neo Photiniani criticam vindicatum atque illustratum, Qua occasione etiam multa alia S. Scripturæ veterumque loca vindicantur, & multis antiquitatis monumentis lux affunditur. Qui*

the 1st, the Author endeavours to prove that the Words of St. *John* in Question were never read otherwise than they stand at present; and this Point he establishes so firmly, that the false, or, at least, uncertain Consequences of *Artemonius* cannot overturn it. In the 2^d Part he shews, that the System of *Artemonius*, with Respect to the Alteration of the Text, is ill-contrived; and that the new *Valentinians*, contrary to his Assertion, neither could nor would substitute the modern Reading to his pretended antient one. In the 3^d, he enters into a Detail or Examination of the Reasons upon which *Artemonius* founds this Proposition, that St. *John* could never say, *The Word* was GOD. The 4th Part contains a Refutation of the Principle of *Socinus* (as adopted by M. *Crellius*) relating to the new Creation, which they pretend St. *John* alludes to, when he says, *That all Things were made by the WORD*. The orthodox Interpretation of this Passage is defended by the Rules of Criticism and Antiquity. The 5th Part is composed of several *Anti-Artemoniac* Dissertations, in which the Divinity of Christ is proved from many Passages of the *Old* and *New Testament*. To these are added, by Way of Appendix, a Paraphrase on the Beginning of St. *John's* Gospel, taken in the orthodox Sense, and an Essay concerning the *three Dialogues on the human Nature of Jesus Christ*, ascribed to *Theodoret*, not only by the Moderns, but by *Photius* himself: Notwithstanding whose Authority, M. *Baratier* draws from these Dialogues themselves several weighty Reasons for the contrary Opinion *. The Reader may judge from this

in fine accedit Dissertatio de Dialogis tribus, vulgo Theodoro tributis. Autore J. P. Baraterio, S. S. Theologiæ, aliarumque bonarum artium Cultore. See the Extract in the Bibliotheca Germanica, Tom. XXXIII. Pag. 134.

* The Journalists of *Trevaux* attack'd him on this Head in
abridg'd

abridged Sketch of the *Anti-Artemonius*, of the critical Knowledge and Erudition it contains.

In consulting the original Writers of the three or four first Centuries, for the Composition of this Treatise, he made so many new Discoveries, as he imagined, in ecclesiastical History, particularly with Regard to the Heretics and Heresies of those Times, that he proposed to write a separate Treatise on this Head, by Way of Preliminary to his *Anti-Artemonius*. He set about it so far as to make great Researches relating thereto, but as he found these intended Preliminaries would exceed in Bulk his principal Work, he thought proper to defer them to another Season, when he should be more at Leisure for an Enquiry of this Nature. This Design he never lived to finish, but it remains amongst his Manuscripts in about 25 or 30 Pages in 4to.

During this Space, he read over the abridged Collection of Councils, publish'd at Nuremberg, in 1575, in 4 large Volumes in 4to*, from whence he collected all the Canons, which he had begun to range in a Body, in July 1733. He had also reduced several Common-Places in Divinity to synoptic Tables, and sketched several Dissertations and Enquiries in Ecclesiastical History, before he set about his *Anti-Artemonius*.

In the Middle of these Occupations two Globes fell into his Hands, in October 1734. There needed no more to make a powerful Diversion from his former Studies. He contemplated these Globes with

November 1737, but he vindicated and confirmed his Opinion, by a Dissertation inserted in the *Bibliotheca Germanica*, Tom. XLVIII. 1738. wherein, by a Superabundancy of Proof, he deprives the same Theodoret of another Book hitherto ascribed to him, that is the *Philothheus*.

* *Concilia illustrata per Joh. Ludov. Ruellium, & Joh. Lud. Hartmannum Rothemburgi, Superintendentem.*

such

256 *The WORKS of the LEARNED.* Art. II.
such Earnestness and Pleasure, that, by the Assistance of a few Books that taught their Use, he could in eight or ten Days time resolve all the Problems; and had acquir'd such a clear and lively Notion of all the antient and modern Systems of Geography, that he presently set about making new Observations and Discoveries in this Science. Full of these Schemes, he laid aside his Searches into Antiquity, and put a Stop to his *Anti-Artemonius*, which was not quite finished, to devote himself wholly to Astronomy, and those Branches of the Mathematicks that relate to it. He apply'd to all his Acquaintance to get such Books as he wanted; and the Neighbourhood of *Nuremburg*, where this Science flourishes, soon furnished him with what he sought for. In three or four Months, his Progress was so rapid, that he seem'd all his Life to have studied no other Thing. He learn'd of himself to know the fix'd Stars, and Planets, and to calculate their Courses. He made an Astrolabe, and compos'd astronomical Tables, and form'd other Instruments, of Pasteboard, after his own Way. He invented new Methods of Calculation, or such as were new to him, since he found them not in the Authors he consult'd; with these he fill'd several Sheets of Paper, some of which are lost, and others remain amongst his Manuscripts. At this Time he devis'd his Project for the Discovery of the Longitude, which he communicated to the Royal Society at *London*, and the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Berlin*, in *January 1735*, that is, about three Months after the Globes first fell into his Hands.

As this is one of the most singular Occurrences in the Life of our young Philosopher, and as he renewed the Attempt two Years after, having the Project at Heart, I shall give a particular Account of it. He sent his Manuscript from *Schwobach*,
January

January 19, 1735, in which Day he enter'd on his fifteenth Year *. I intended at first to have here inserted the Original, which I have by me, but finding an Epitome of it, drawn up by a Member of the Royal Society, I judge it sufficient to let the Reader into Mr. *Baratier's* Design. It here follows.

A Method proposed by John Philip Baratier for discovering the Longitude at Sea, as communicated to the Royal Society; with some Observations and Remarks, by James Hodgeson, Fellow of the said Society.

“ I HAVE perused the Epistle of Mr. *John Philip Baratier* to the Royal Society, dated from *Schwobach*, in February 1738, in which the ingenious Author proposes a Method of finding the Longitude at Sea, by observing the Moon's Distance from any fix'd Star (which the nearer it is to the Moon, will be more convenient for the Observation) and at the same Time computing the Distances of the Moon and fixed Star from the vertical Point, or Zenith. Hence, by adding the Latitude of the Place, where the Observation is made, (which he supposes known) he deduces a general Method, by the Help of the said Observations, of discovering the Moon's true Place, and by comparing these Observations with the latter, reduced to any given Meridian, the Difference of Longitude, between the Place of a Ship at Sea, and the Place to whose Me-

* His Excellency the Count of *Schaumburg Lippe* had the Goodness to send this Project to a Friend at the Court of *London*, generously recommending, at the same Time, the young Mathematician to the Queen's Protection, by whose Command the Royal Society examined the Proposal with particular Care and Regard.

“ridian the Moon’s given Place is reduced, will
“be ascertained.

“To investigate the Moon’s Place, under any
“given Meridian, he has invented a Series of
“Tables, which render Computations of every
“Kind much more easy and certain than any
“Astronomical Tables now in Use, and which
“he promises hereafter to communicate. As yet
“he only hints in general that these Tables of
“his will be of great Service to Navigation : But
“as they are not yet perfected, he recommends
“in the mean Time the Use of the *Ephemerides*,
“which, according to him, pretty exactly answer
“this Purpose. He proceeds then, by a
“given Example, to indicate his general Method
“of deducing the Moon’s Place from his Observations,
“but not with the Perspicuity to be wished in such a Case ; nor does he give the
“whole Calculation, but supplies it by general
“Rules, and concludes by saying, That if the
“Moon’s Longitude thus discovered, is the same
“as the *Ephemerides* make it, the Ship will then
“be under the same Meridian for which the
“*Ephemerides* are calculated ; but if the Moon’s
“Longitude be different, it will be necessary to
“reduce that Difference into Time, by help of
“the Moon’s horary Motion. But if the Moon’s
“Place, deduced from Observation, be found
“greater or less in Number, than the Place given
“it in the *Ephemerides*, the Meridian, under
“which the Vessels is, will be either East or West
“of the Meridian of the Place for which the
“*Ephemerides* are calculated.

“To obtain the Moon’s Distance from the
“fixed Star, and the Distance of each from the
“Zenith; he has contrived certain Instruments,
“which may be used at Sea, a Description of
“which he adds. But as the ingenious Youth
“seems

“ seems not to have a clear Notion of the Motion
 “ of a Ship at Sea, as it is really ; nor is well ac-
 “ quainted with the late Instruments used for
 “ measuring Distances, and taking Altitudes at
 “ Sea, it is needless to give any further Account
 “ of what he offers on this Head.

“ The Method he proposes in this Case is the
 “ antient one employ’d by Astronomers to deter-
 “ mine the Moon’s Place by Observations made at
 “ Land, and is the same that was practis’d former-
 “ ly by our Navigators, which we should yet use, if
 “ the Instruments were convenient, and the Moon’s
 “ Theory brought to a greater Degree of Per-
 “ fection than it really is. This is the End that
 “ King *Charles* the Second poposed, in erecting
 “ and furnishing the Royal Observatory at *Green-*
 “ *wich*. Mr. *Baratier* has therefore given no new
 “ Light by his Method for solving the celebrated
 “ Problem of the Longitude, which, as he says,
 “ the greatest Mathematicians have labour’d in
 “ vain.

“ He informs us, that at the Time of his writ-
 “ ing this Epistle he was destitute of Books,
 “ and preparing for a Journey to *Stetin* in *Pome-*
 “ *rania*, or *Berlin*, on which Account he makes
 “ use of a supposed Example : But I would re-
 “ commend to him, that, at his greater Leisure,
 “ he would try the Experiment, on the Spot
 “ where he shall be, and give us a real Case,
 “ founded on Facts, by comparing the Moon’s
 “ Place as he finds it, by the Help of his Obser-
 “ vations, with its Place taken from those Ephe-
 “ merides which appear most exact to him, or
 “ computed according to his own Tables. We
 “ shall then be better able to judge of the Value
 “ of his Instruments, and the usefulness of his
 “ Method for computing the Moon’s Place. He
 “ will also himself, at the same Time, be ena-

“ bled to discern the Difficulty of making Obser-
 “ vations in a Ship under sail, and will find that
 “ this cannot be done, so easily as appears to
 “ him at Land, by the Help of his Instru-
 “ ments.

“ We must not omit, that he says, he has
 “ invented a certain Instrument, by which all
 “ Calculations necessary in this Case, may be
 “ made with great Dispatch, and that he has also
 “ contrived an universal astronomical Instrument,
 “ not only commodious, but elegant, by the
 “ Help of which, even Persons that are ignorant
 “ may solve any astronomical Problem without
 “ Calculations; that this Instrument is most
 “ commodious for making Observations, and that
 “ if a certain Machine be added to it, one may
 “ thereby exactly demonstrate all the celestial
 “ Phenomena. He has also contrived an astrono-
 “ mical Observatory *Sphere*, an universal *Astrolabe*,
 “ and several other very useful Instruments, which
 “ he proposes to communicate to the *Society*,
 “ when a proper Occasion offers.

“ I flatter myself, that what I have said with
 “ regard to his Method of discovering the Longi-
 “ tude, will be no prejudice to a Youth, who so
 “ far excels in Science the generality of his Age,
 “ and who has given such early Proofs of an ex-
 “ traordinary Genius, by such a Progress in astro-
 “ nomical Knowledge, at these Years, when
 “ others scarcely have attain'd its first Rudiments.
 “ There is no doubt therefore, but if with so hap-
 “ py a Disposition, he continues to cultivate this
 “ Study, the greatest Things may be expected
 “ from him, and Astronomy may become in-
 “ debted to him for very considerable Improv-
 “ ments.”

This

This Extract was communicated to Mr. *Baratier*, and at the same Time, the Royal Society wrote him the following Letter.

To the most hopeful Youth John Philip Baratier, Philip Henry Zellman, Secretary to the Royal Society at London for foreign Correspondence, and Fellow of the said Society, wishes Health.

S I R,

“YOUR Letter dated at *Schwobach*, in February last, has been laid before the Royal Society; and, as is usual in such Cases, was at one of their Assemblies referr’d to a Gentleman perfectly well vers’d in the astronomical Sciences, to give his Opinion thereof to the Society at their next Meeting. Herewith you will receive a *Latin* Version of his Extract and Remarks; which being read before that Society, they have enjoin’d me to return you Thanks in their Name, for the Favour you have done them in communicating your Studies, and to assure you at the same Time, how agreeable your future Correspondence will be to them, as you proceed further in these Sciences. Given at *London*, September 10, 1735.”

This is what passed at that Time in relation to M. *Baratier*’s Project. We shall find it again revived, and produce a new Correspondence between its Author and the Royal Societies of *France* and *England*. That of *Berlin* received it in the Year 1735, and soon after young M. *Baratier* was admitted a Member of that learned Body.

So far we have seen this young Philosopher confin’d within the narrow Limits of his native Place, and paternal Abode. His Father was still the Master and Director of his Studies. We must not however neglect mentioning, that in this

Design the good old Gentleman was seconded by the affectionate Cares of M. *Le Maitre*, at present Chaplain to his Excellency the Count of *Scaumbourg Lippe* at *Buckebourg*. This worthy Minister, in the Year 1723, having seen young *Baratier* in the Cradle, at a visit he made his Father, expressed an uncommon Affection for him, which was greatly confirmed four Years after, when, in his Return from a Journey to *Switzerland*, Mr. *Le Maitre* found him so prodigiously advanc'd in the Knowledge of the Languages, and particularly the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Bible. Before this his little Friend had compleated his seventh Year, they formed a regular literary Correspondence, in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*; the young Student giving M. *Le Maitre* a faithful Account of his Studies, and applying to him for a Solution of any Difficulties arising therein: This Commerce continued for Life. M. *Le Maitre* having received a Call from the Church at *Schwobach*, one of the principal Motives that engaged him to accept it, was young *Baratier's* Residence at that Place. During the three Years they remained here together, they seldom missed a Day without seeing or conversing with each other. So learned a Commerce could not but be of great Advantage for improving young *Baratier's* Understanding, ripening his nobler Faculties, and shewing him the great Extent of his Capacity.

Before we follow this surprizing Child from his own Country, let us here collect a few curious Anecdotes relating to him. In 1726, about *Easter*, her Highness the Margraves's Mother and Regent of *Anspach* sent for his Father, with his Family, to her Court, where she received them with the utmost Goodness, and condescended in a particular Manner to take notice of the young Scholar, who presented her a Letter of his own Composition in
French,

French, and another in *Latin* to the young Prince, who now governs, and who upon that Occasion loaded him with Favours. It is needless after this to remark the Caresses he received from all the Courtiers. In *June*, 1731, he was matriculated in the University of *Altorf*, during the Rectorate of *M. John James Jantke*. At the Close of the Year 1732, at the Meeting of the Reformed *French* and *German* Churches of the Circle of *Franconia*, at *Christian Erlang*, he was presented by his Father to that venerable Assembly; who, surprized at his wonderful Talents, admitted him to assist at their Deliberations, tho' he was not quite eleven Years old; and to preserve the Memory of so singular an Event, they had it registered in the Acts of the Synod. If these Refugee Churches had Revenues equal to those of the Clergy of *France*, there is no doubt, but this Synod would have shewn their Liberality to young *Mr. Baratier*, in like manner as the general Assembly of the *French* Churches, in 1614, couraged young *Cotelier*, who, at a riper Age, having given proofs of a Knowledge resembling that of this illustrious Youth, obtained 300 Livres to buy Books, his Father's Pension being at the same time increased to 1000. In 1733, at twelve years of Age, he made an open Confession of his Faith in the Church, as is done by Candidates in Divinity. He was examined on this Confession, and, after he had defended it, he was by his Father admitted to publick Communion. About this Time he instructed the Catechumens in his Father's Presence, and often employ'd himself in composing Sermons, Discourses, Analyses, and Theological Tables, in all which he gave Evidences of his good Sense, Taste and Learning. In 1734, the last Year of *Mr. Baratier's* Residence at *Schwobach*, His Highness the Margrave of *Brandenburg-An-*

spach, graciously granted our young Scholar the Privilege of whatever Books he wanted from the *Anspach* Library, together with a Pension of fifty Florins, which he enjoy'd for three Years.

About this Time, the late King of *Prussia* * sent Mr. *Baratier*, the Father, a Call to the *French* Church at *Stetin* in *Pomerania*. He was determined to accept it, chiefly, as it might afford him an Opportunity for procuring his Son some additional Helps in his Studies. The Family began their Journey about the Middle of *February*, 1735, M. *Baratier* taking the Route of *Jena*, *Leipzig*, and *Hall*, that he might let his Pupil see these Universities. They reached the last named Place on the sixth of *March*, where young *Baratier* found his Reputation had got before him. M. *Schulze*, a celebrated Professor of *Physick*, *Eloquence*, and *Antiquities*, who had seen him in *Franconia* during his Infancy, paid him a Visit as soon as he heard of his Arrival, and the next Day presented him to M. *Ludewig*, Chancellor of the University. This illustrious Philosopher, after a short Conversation with him, offered him the Degree of Master of Arts, if he inclined to accept it. Young M. *Baratier*, who had never frequented School or Academy, and consequently was a Stranger to Degrees, Disputes, and other Academical Exercises, received the Proposal with great Indifference, and even treated it as a Banter. But after some Explanations he was persuaded to embrace the Favour on the next Day. *March* the 8th. he was presented to the Philosophical Faculty, who, after Examination, admitted him to a publick Disputation. Immediately, on the same Evening, in the Presence of several Profes-

* *Frederick William*, who died *May* 30, 1740.

fors, he drew up fourteen Theses on different Subjects in critical Learning, Philology, and Philosophy, in which Astronomy was not forgotten. These were printed the same Night, and defended by him on the next Day, for three Hours together, in the publick Hall of the University, where M. de Ludewig presided, and at which appeared a crowded Audience of the Students, and other Persons of all Ranks. The Respondent during the whole Time discovered such Courage and Presence of Mind, that the President had no occasion to interpose in his Favour: After such authentic Proofs of his Capacity, he was solemnly admitted Master of Arts, with universal Applause, March 9. 1735, by the following Act; which we have thought proper to insert in the original Terms.

P. D. B. V.

*A*uspiciis Serenissimi ac Potentissimi Domini, Domini FRIDERICI WILHELMI, Borussiae Regis, &c. &c. Regis ac Domini nostri longe clementissimi, Prorectore Academiae Fridericiariae D. Jo. Gottlieb Heineccio, J C T. Pot. R. B. a Conf. int. Prof. Jur. & Phil. P. Ord. ut & illustribus & excellentissimis Cancellario & Directore Dn. D. Johanne Petro a Ludewig & Dn. D. Justo Hennerig Boehmer, Jctis, Consil. int. & Prof. Juris Publ. ex decreto amplissimi Philosophorum ordinis, promotor constitutus D. Michael Alberti, S. R. M. B. Aulicus & Conf. Magd. Consil. Medic. & Phil. Nat. P. P. O. b. J. Phil. fac. Decanus, ADOLESCENTI QUATUORDECENNALI, praematura egregia scientia in plurimis Orientalibus Linguis, ut & in Logicis, Physicis, Historicis, Mathematicis, nec non Antiquitatis Studiis, praeter reliqua, claro, atque solempni examine eximie probato, Nobilissimo Doctissimoque, Dn. JOHANNI PHILIPPO

BARATERIO, Swobaco-Franco, *post inauguralem Disputationem publice ventilatam, summos in Philisophia honores, & Magisterii Jura ac Dignitatem, Auctoritate Imperatoria & Regia, more consueto contulit, die 9 Martii, 1735.* Halæ Magdeburg.

After this great Honour conferred upon his Son, M. *Baratier* continued but one Day at *Hall*, and then pursued his Journey to *Berlin*, where he arrived with his Family *March 14*. If I could here recollect all the Particulars of our young Scholar's Appearance in this Capital, the Reader would indeed have a large Field before him. His Presence of Mind, his Happiness of Expression, the Vivacity of his Repartees, the solid Proofs he gave of his Learning, when Occasion offer'd, all conspired to support the high Idea conceived of him. Suddenly transplanted into a Soil quite new to him, (I speak not of *Berlin*, but the Court, the Palace, and the Presence of the Royal Family) he was neither confused, nor disconcerted. He bore with the best Grace imaginable all the little Railleries he met with. He was as polite, as if he had passed all his Life with the *Beau Monde*. In short, his Behaviour gain'd both the Admiration and Esteem of all. I shall only mention a few Instances to avoid Prolixity.

The Day after his Arrival, his Majesty called for him. His Appearance and Conversation were so agreeable to this great Prince, that he almost every Day sent for him during the five or six Weeks that he continued at *Berlin* or *Potsdam*. Sometimes he was ordered into the Royal Presence several Times in one Day, and to converse either with his Majesty in Person, or with the Courtiers, or Men of Letters who attended the King's Levee. Nothing could be more favourable,

able, and even endearing, than the Reception he met with from Persons of the first Rank. They contended who should have him first, and often when they thought themselves sure of his Company, superior Orders snatched him away from them. He had the Honour to receive particular Marks of Bounty from both their Majesty's. Besides a Present he received in Money from the Queen, her Majesty enrich'd him with several Volumes of Mathematics and Philosophy, handsomely bound, and such as he himself made choice of; graciously offering to furnish him with any others he desired. His Royal Highness the Prince, and the rest of the royal Family, shew'd their Generosity to him. Amongst the Persons of Eminence, who delighted to see and confer their Favours upon him, we must not omit his Excellency the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, then Ambassador from his Imperial Majesty at the Court of *Berlin*, who signalized his Goodness to him in a Manner becoming his own Dignity, and that of the Sovereign whom he represented.

At this Time the Queen had his Picture drawn at full Length, by Mr. *Pesne*, Painter to the King, and placed it at *Monbijou*, a Pleasure House of her Majesty's in one of the Suburbs of *Berlin*, amongst those of the celebrated Men, which she has collected with great Care and Expence. The Royal Academy at *Berlin*, received him into its Body, their Diploma is too much for his Reputation to be suppress'd.

The Præses, Propæses, and Directors of the Royal Academy of Sciences, founded at Berlin by the most serene and potent King of Prussia, make known by these Presents.

“ **T**HAT Mr. *John Philip Baratier*, Master of Arts and Philosophy, a Youth of four-
“ teen

“teen Years old, having given abundant Proofs
 “of an early Genius, learned with all liberal Sci-
 “ence, particularly with a Knowledge, far sur-
 “passing his Years, in the oriental Languages,
 “History, and Ecclesiastical Antiquity, during the
 “short Time of his Stay at *Berlin*, not only in
 “several private Meetings, but in the solemn
 “Assemblies of the Senate, this Academy, and
 “the Mathematical Classis, wherein, besides his
 “extensive and wonderful Erudition, he gave con-
 “vincing Proofs of an uncommon Intimacy with
 “the sublimer Mathematicks, and especially
 “Astronomy; in Testimony of our singular
 “Esteem and Admiration, we have willingly ad-
 “mitted him a Member of our Body.

“Wherefore, first offering our ardent Wishes,
 “that the eternal heavenly Mind, who has im-
 “planted in this excellent Youth, such valuable
 “Qualities, may nourish and improve them to
 “yield a fruitful Harvest; with the Consent of
 “the illustrious and excellent Lord *Adam Otto de*
 “*Vierick*, Privy Counsellor to his *Prussian* Ma-
 “jesty, and Protector of this Society, by Virtue
 “of these Presents we receive the said M. *Bara-*
 “*tier* as a Member of our Royal Academy, with
 “all the Honours, Rights, Privileges and Ad-
 “vantages belonging to that Title. In Me-
 “mory of which, by Decree of the Acade-
 “my, we have sign’d these Letters with the com-
 “mon Seal and usual Subscription, at *Berlin*,
 “*March 24, A. D. 1735.*

Daniel Ernest Jablousky, Præses.

Philip Joseph de Jarriges, Secretary.

Astronomy was always M. *Baratier*'s favourite
 Study, and uppermost in his Thoughts. It made a
 great Part of his Conversation. The frequent Op-
 portunities

portunities he had for seeing the famous *M. Kirch**, (who died in 1740.) and of visiting the Royal Observatory, so confirmed this Taste, that he many Times prefer'd the Conversation of Astronomers to that of the Great who asked him to Dinner. He often excused himself from going to Court, or to some Nobleman's who had invited him, and sometimes he abruptly left even the most distinguish'd Companies, to attend astronomical Observations which were any Thing extraordinary. To be sure of his Company, it was necessary to invite *M. Kirch*, or some other Men of Learning, to put him in good Humour, and engage him to talk freely. When his Picture was drawn, they were oblig'd to use this Artifice to make him fit for it.

Tho' the King had no great Relish of Astronomy, and even would have dissuaded our young Philosopher from it, yet seeing it his prevailing Passion, he had the Bounty to present him 100 Crowns to buy Instruments, and ordered an astronomical Pendulum to be made for him at *Potsdam*, according to his own Model, which, when finish'd, was sent to him at *Hall*. But at the same Time his Majesty believing his Genius might be more usefully employ'd than in speculative Enquiries, strongly recommended it to his Father to disengage him from such dry Pursuits, and point to him the Study of the Law, and especially the Civil Law, which might be a Means of greatly raising his Fortune. He even directed some of his Ministers of State and principal Officers to hint the same Thing to young *Baratier* †, who accordingly suggested to him the Advantages he might ex-

* Astronomer to the King and Keeper of the Royal Observatory at *Berlin*.

† See the *Hall Gazette* of October 10, 1740. No. 41. in which *M. de Ludewig*, in his Elegy on Mr. *Baratier*, mentions this Particular.

pect, by turning his Studies in Compliance with the King's Desires. It was to facilitate this Intention, by placing him at the very Source of the Law, that his Majesty thought fit to appoint his Father Pastor of the *French Church at Hall*, so that instead of proceeding for *Stein*, the Family return'd to reside at that celebrated University. Before their Departure the King granted young *M. Baratier* the usual Pension * of Candidates for four Years, and not only recommended him to the University by a general Rescript, but order'd five Letters to be wrote in his Favour, to as many Privy Counsellors and Professors there, who were enjoyn'd to have a particular Regard to this young Gentleman, and to favour him with their Advice and Assistance in every Thing that might contribute to promote his Studies.

Such was the transient but shining Appearance of this literary Phenomenon on the Horizon of *Berlin*. It was too remarkable to be soon forgotten. We may in vain peruse the Catalogues which *Baillet* and others have given of learned Children to find any Thing like *Baratier*. Scarce an Instance can be produced at his Age of one who not only knew so much, but knew how to make a proper Use of that Knowledge. The chief Excellence of Children is Memory, and what distinguishes most of them is the learning quickly a great Number of Words or Things; but Judgment, and especially one so solid as that of *M. Baratier*, scarce ever was join'd to such a Memory, even in the maturest Age.

In finishing this Relation of his Entertainment and Behaviour at *Berlin*, I cannot forbear mentioning a Kind of Prophecy or Prefage, by which his Father, eleven Years before, when he could

* This is fifty Rixdollars a Year.

not possibly know any Thing of what would there happen, described his Son's Adventure at that Capital. In the Beginning of the Year 1724, when the Child could read, his Father composed a little Book of Fables or Stories to amuse him, and exercise him in reading. This little Collection, which at first Sight may appear trifling, is wrote with such good Sense, and so judiciously accommodated to the Capacity of Children, that it well merits being made publick. This is the first Fable, copied from the original Manuscript.

The wise Child.

“ IN the City of *Berlin* *, Capital of the Country of *Brandenburgh*, and the Court of the King of *Prussia*, it is said, there once lived a pretty little Boy, called *John the Wise*. This Child did every Thing his Father and Mother bid him do. He could pray to God like an Angel, and read like a Divine. Above all Things he was so dutiful that he never was commanded to do a Thing twice. The King of *Prussia* hearing of him, had the Curiosity to send for him, and hear him talk and pray. When his Father and Mother brought him to the King, he made a very low Bow, and spoke with such good Manners and Decency, that the King was wonderfully delighted with his Behaviour, as well as the Modesty with which he said his Prayers. When the King had talk'd to him, he called the Princes and Princesses, and Lords and Ladies of his Court, and bid them all give something to reward the little Boy. Some

* Each Story represented Children in different and opposite Characters. As the *learned* Child, the *ignorant* Child, the *mannerly* Child, the *rude* Child: As the Scene of each Fable was laid in some capital City, the Child was by this means also instructed in Geography.

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“gave him Sugar, others Biscuits, others Con-
“fections, but the King of *Prussia* gave him
“a fine Coat, and a beautiful gilt Book with
“pretty Pictures.”

One cannot but be surprized at the accidental Agreement of this Fable with the Event, for we dont impose it on the Reader as a Prophecy.

Mr. *Baratier* and his Family return'd to *Hall*, April 28, 1735. Our young Master of Arts at his Arrival would make use of his Privilege, and open publick Lectures. His Father not being able to dissuade him, and foreseeing it was a Fancy of his own which would soon go off, let him take his own Way. He delivered Lectures on three Subjects; the first Philological, on the Book of *Job*; the second on Astronomy; and the third on the antient ecclesiastical History. He had not continued this Office a Fortnight, when (as his Father had predicted) he grew disgusted with it to that Degree, that he quitted for ever the Profession of teaching. What contributed to tire him of it was the Petulance of some Auditors, but chiefly the Fatigue of the Employment, and the Hindrance it was to his Studies.

He had at first no great Inclination to the Business of the Law, but perceiving the Weakness of his Constitution disqualify'd him for the ministerial Office, and that his Lungs were too weak for any Employment that required Vehemence of Speech, he determined in earnest to apply himself there. For four Years he closely attended the Colleges of the four principal Professors in this Faculty, the Chancellor and Privy Counsellor *Ludewig*, and the Counsellors Messieurs *Boehmer*, *Heinek* and *Gaster*; whose Lectures he heard on all the Branches of the Law, civil and canon, common and feodal. Though this was not his favourite Study,

Study, yet in Time he began to like it, especially the common Law. We see by some loose Papers he has left on this Subject, that he would not only have cultivated it successfully, but that he had made new Discoveries in it, as he had done in others. But as he studied it, we may say, only for Form sake, he never made it his principal Business, but was contented with the Lectures he heard on it, except when he found some Point to raise his Curiosity, and excite his particular Enquiry. At the same Time he went through a Course of natural Philosophy with M. Professor *Lange*. These were all the Colleges he attended at *Hall*, and the only Masters (excepting his Father) he ever heard in Person.

All the Time, which his Attendance on the Law Lectures spared him, he devoted to other Studies. The first Year of his Residence at *Hall*, was taken up with natural Philosophy, Astronomy, and the Mathematics. He read over most of the Books, antient and modern, which treat of these Sciences. He wrote several Essays and Dissertations; he made also some astronomical Remarks, and prodigious Calculations. After this he returned to the Study of Antiquity and ecclesiastical History, in which he read a great deal, and made laborious Researches, to qualify himself for the compleating his intended *History of the Heresies of the Antitrinitarians*, which he had begun at *Schwobach*. These Enquiries occasioned new Collections, Observations, and Essays, some of which have been inserted in the *Bibliotheca Germanica*. This in Time produced his last Work, on the Succession of the Bishops of *Rome*, which appeared in 1740*, and was intended only as an

* Under this Title, *Disquisitionis Chronologicae de Successione antiquissima Episcoporum Romanorum, inde a Petro usque ad Visto-*

Introduction to a larger Design he had plan'd upon the antient History of the first Ages of the Church. His primary View was to fix rightly the Chronology of those Times, which he found very perplex'd. Some other Essays remain amongst his Papers.

Shortly after this, he applied himself to the Law of Nations, and to Antient and Modern History. He perused on these Subjects all the original Writers and Authors of Note he could meet with. On this Occasion he attempted to write the *History of the War of thirty Years in Germany*, as a Proof of his extraordinary Knowledge in the Law of Nations. To this he was further determined by the Discoveries he made, in the Library of the Senate at *Hall*, of a valuable Collection in ten or twelve large Quarto Volumes, containing a vast number of original Papers and Evidences relating to those Times. All this while he was indefatigable in the Studies of the *Belles Lettres*, reviewing the antient Greek and Latin Authors he had formerly read, and adding to his Store such as he had not, Poets, Orators, Philosophers, Historians, Critics, and Travellers. Not content with these, he eagerly devour'd all the historical Books he could find amongst his Acquaintance, or the Booksellers at *Hall*, whether in *French, German, English, Italian, or Low Dutch*, and even *Arabick*. Towards the close of his Life, he had acquir'd such a Taste of Medals, Inscriptions, and Antiquities, not only those of *Greece and Rome*, but even of *India and China*, that he read all he could get relating to them, and laid in a new and considerable Stock of this Kind of Knowledge.

rem. *Ultrajecti Batavorum apud Stephanum Neaulme, 4to. 1740.* An Extract of this Work was sent to the Authors of the *Bibliotheca Germanica*.

Metaphysical Enquiries and experimental Philosophy, as occasion offer'd, intervened between these different Studies. At the End of the Year 1737, he resumed his Project with respect to the Longitude, or rather form'd a new one founded on the Declination and Inclination of the magnetic Needle, proposing for this End a Compass of his own Invention. The Nature of this Design will best appear from his own Letter, address'd to the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Paris*, dated from *Hall*, December 10, 1737. A Duplicate of this in *Latin* he at the same Time sent to the Royal Society at *London*. His Success will appear from the Answers which we shall subjoin. His Letter to the Royal Academy at *Paris* was in the following Terms.

Gentlemen,

IF you were less zealous than you are to encourage the Sciences, which are the Object of your noble Endeavours, and if Motives, which could only influence prejudiced Minds, could make an Impression on you, I should certainly be culpable in presenting to your illustrious Society the Discoveries I imagine myself to have made. I am in some Respects a Stranger to you, Gentlemen, and the small Experience which a Youth of scarce seventeen can be supposed to have, ought not to prepossess you to my Disadvantage.

But, Gentlemen, when I consider you, as superior to the Bulk of Mankind, no less by your Disinterestedness and Impartiality, than by your Knowledge, which penetrates the Recesses of Nature, and unfolds the Wonders of this vast Universe; when I reflect, that you are willing to receive Truth, by whatever Hand it is offered to you, I am embolden'd to hope

C

you

you will not slight the Observations I send you. Dare I add it as a new Motive of this Confidence, that I have the Honour to be a *Frenchman*.

There is perhaps no one Problem, has more puzzled the Mathematicians, than to find a Method, by which a Ship at Sea, may certainly calculate the Degree of Longitude in which she is. The Solution of this Question presents as many Charms, as there are Difficulties attending it. The fruitless and unsuccessful Attempts of others did not discourage me. Experience alone, which convinced me that I should meet the same Fate, stopped my Enquiries.

I had not apprehended that the Qualities of the Loadstone were any way serviceable to my Design. I knew these Phenomena had been already employed for this End in vain, and I saw such Confusion and Irregularity in them, that I despaired of any Certainty.

About two Months since, having accidentally Occasion for some Days, successively, to consider these celebrated Variations of the Needle, I began to perceive a surprizing Harmony in them, and immediately I conceived Hopes of accounting for them by certain Rules. I imagine I am not deceived in my Judgment. I have so far succeeded as to ascertain, with some Exactness, the Limits or Bounds of this Variation, the Laws or Measures of its Augmentation and Diminution, as well as could be expected in the short time I employ'd. I make no doubt, when I resume the Enquiry, but I shall be able to bring these Rules to a Perfection, that will be of great Importance to Navigation. For this purpose I am endeavouring to collect all the Observations I can meet with on this Subject. My greatest Difficulty is, that I can find few so exact as I wish. I have already those of Mr. Halley. P. P. Noël and Feuillée, Captain Narborough, Tefman,

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Tesman, and *Dampier*, with those collected in the Memoirs of your Academy for the Year 1708, and some other loose Calculations.

Further, As in order to discover the true Variation of the Needle, exact Observations are necessary, especially as it is highly requisite to have the true Elevation of the Pole, to calculate the Degrees of Longitude after the Variation is found out, I have studied to contrive an Instrument, by which we may instantly, by a single Observation, find at once the Meridian Line, the Elevation of the Pole, and other Things : And I have a Friend * very skilfull in these Affairs who has already invented an Instrument of this Nature.

Hitherto, Gentlemen, I have only spoken of Discoveries to be made, but what gives me the Assurance of writing to you, is a real Discovery, and of great Consequence, which I have already fallen upon. I need not inform you, that besides the Variation or Declination of the Needle, with Regard to the Meridian, it is endued with another Property, which we call its Inclination. This gave me the first Idea of my Discovery. I not only found that this Inclination had an exact and regular Relation to the Changes of Longitude and Latitude, but I also discovered a Method of assigning the Rules of this Variation, which no one, that I know of, has hitherto done. I have invented a mechanic Method, sure in itself, and so easy, that the most ignorant Sailor may put it into Practice, provided he knows the Rule and Compass. By this, first knowing the true Elevation of the Pole, and the Inclination of the Needle, we shall infallibly discover the Degree

* This Gentleman, (if I mistake not) is Mr. *Bardin*, Pastor of the *French Church* at *Magdeburg*, who, to his other Talents, joins a great Genius for the Mathematics.

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of Longitude, where we are, from a certain Point
I have fixed. I have made the Experiment
of this, after some Observations which I took
from an Author, who extracted them from *P. P.*
Noel and *Feuillee*, and found that my System was
true, and confirmed by these Observations.

This affords, Gentlemen, a sure and easy Solution of the famous Problem of Longitude. It cannot be objected that this Observation is impracticable at Sea, (which is the Difficulty of other Solutions) since it is daily practised there. I own indeed, to gain a greater Exactness on this Head, it is necessary to make accurate Observations, and that the Pilot should use Compasses of a better Form than those now employed, in order to perceive the minuter Differences of the Needle's Inclination. This is a thing easily executed, and I will then answer, that the Longitude may be determined within one eighth, or one tenth of a Degree, that is, to an Exactness hitherto unknown.

Some accurate Observations of this Sort are wanting, in order exactly to fix the Points by which my Operations are to be governed; the Certainty of which, nevertheless, does not depend thereon. However, by the help of only three Observations, exactly made in three different Places, with all the proper Circumstances, I will be able to give my System the utmost Precision. But it is requisite I should know the true Longitude and Latitude of those Places where the Observations are made, and I would have them of pretty near the same Date, or at least within a few days of each other. I should also be highly pleased to have them made under parallel Degrees of Longitude and Latitude, either under the Equator or below the Line; tho' this be not essential. If my Project has the Happiness to appear worthy of
your

your Attention, allow me, Gentlemen, to hope you will assist me with the Observations I need. These of *P. P. Noel* and *Fuillee*, are far from being satisfactory; in some the Degrees of Longitude not being exactly laid down, and some being false in themselves; others that are pretty right I have made use of. You must be sensible, Gentlemen, that I need more accurate Observations for perfecting my Calculation, than will be necessary for Sailors in the Use of them.

Another thing which embarrasses me is, that the Observations I have collected, are insufficient to assure me, whether the Inclination of the Needle varies in Process of Time, in the same Place, as the ingenious *P. Fuillee* has suspected. 'Tis true indeed, my System does not depend upon this Question, since this Inclination (if real) must change in a certain Proportion in every Place, which, by the Help of my Calculations, a few Observations will soon determine. I want some good Experiments for the settling of this Point, and these I expect, Gentlemen, from your superior and extensive Knowledge.

As I am convinced, that we have more certain Means of discovering the Longitude, by observing the Inclination of the Needle, when it is placed in the Direction from East to West, and not from South to North, I should be glad of a few Experiments of this Sort, which would very much tend to the perfecting my System. I doubt not to carry it so far, as to find, at once, the Longitude and Latitude of a Place, without any celestial Observation. I should even have done this already, if I had been furnished with sufficient Observations.

Further, its Deviation from the Zenith, a Phænomenon observed by *P. Noel*, in the Magnetic Needle, when it is turned a particular way,

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is of great Use in this Case. As celestial Observations cannot always be made, and are attended with Difficulty, such a Discovery is of great Service.

Till this can be ascertained, permit me, Gentlemen, to offer you a Description of a Method, which I have contrived, to find a Meridian Line, and the Altitude of the Pole, by a single Observation, in an easy manner, and readily practised at Sea. By this you will see that my Projects are not chimerical, and I imagine, this Discovery is important enough to merit your Regard. It is at least new, if I am not much deceived*.

This may suffice as to the Nature of my Design. I persuade myself, Gentlemen, that you will have the Goodness to furnish me with the Means of bringing it to Perfection, and allow me to lay it before you. This is all I desire, I neither capitulate with you, nor the Princes of *Europe*, for a Reward proportioned to the Importance of my Discovery. I should, however, be satisfied to learn, if there be any Recompence promised in *France*, to the finding out the Longitude, as in other Countries. *France*, the Refuge and Seat of Learning, is surely not singular in this Respect; and the greatest Monarch on Earth, no doubt, grants to the Encouragement of the Sciences, some Moments of that Time which he employs to pacify the World. I beg, Gentlemen, your Information on this Head, that I may take the most proper Measures. After this, and the receiving from you the Assistance I request, when I have carried my Scheme so far, that a Person who has made greater Observations,

* The Description here referr'd to is omitted: for tho' the Contrivance it relates to shew'd a Genius in the Inventor above his Years, yet it was trifling, in comparison of the Instruments now made and used here for the same Purposes.

may advance it to the utmost Perfection, I shall cheerfully lay it before you ; assured that you will not deprive me of the Honour of it. I flatter myself, you will receive my Remarks, with that Indulgence you shew for whatever contributes to the Advancement of the Sciences. It is this makes me hope your speedy Answer. By that, Gentlemen, you will encourage me not only to perfect this Invention, but also others I have begun in Astronomy, Fortification, Mechanics, and other Sciences. In this agreeable Expectation, all that remains for me to request, is the Liberty of telling you, that I am with all the Veneration due to your illustrious Society, &c.

The first Answer to Mr. *Baratier* was from the Royal Society at *London*, in the following Terms.

S I R,

“ AS soon as I received your Letter, with that
 “ A inclos’d and address’d to the *Royal Society*,
 “ I propos’d to deliver them to the President,
 “ Sir *Hans Sloane*, at the first Meeting ; but be-
 “ ing prevented by an unforeseen Accident, I
 “ gave them to him at his own House Yesterday,
 “ together with my own. I now return you an
 “ Answer, and hope your Candour will excuse
 “ the Delay. By the Rules of our Society, no
 “ Member is permitted, unless publickly called
 “ upon, to deliver any Letters address’d to the
 “ Society. The Hollidays prevented our publick
 “ Meetings for three Weeks, but in the last
 “ Assembly, your Letter was publickly given in
 “ and read, and the Answer resolv’d on, which
 “ I transmit to you. The Sicknes of our Se-
 “ cretary for some Time, prevented this Answer
 “ being reported to the Society, which our

“ Custom required to be done before our sending it. You know what Delays often attend publick Proceedings. The Society’s Answer is this.

Minute of the Royal Society, Jan. 26, 1738. O. S. relating to M. Baratier’s Project.

“ IT is Ordered that M. *Zellman*, in his Answer, do inform M. *Baratier*, that the Society can say nothing in relation to any Scheme, while it remains a Secret; and that the Society cannot discern from his Letter, wherein his Project differs from that which has been proposed some Years ago by Mr. *Whiston*, in *England*. Mr. *Zellman* is also directed to inform him, that the Act of Parliament for a Reward, for the Discovery of the Longitude, is still in Force, and that there are Commissioners appointed as the proper Judges. It is likewise ordered that M. *Zellman* do send him the Act.”

It only remain that I subscribe myself,

London, Feb. 13,
1737-8. O. S.

Sir, yours,

PHILIP HENRY ZELLMAN.

When M. *Baratier* addressed his Letter to the Royal Academy at *Paris*, he at the same Time founded M. *Fontenelle* *, by Means of a Brother-in-Law of his Father’s in *France* †. The former Gentleman, so distinguished by his Writings, sent an Answer to M. *Baratier*’s Uncle, which we insert, as it is one of the most remarkable

* M. *Fontenelle*, Secretary, for Life, to the Academy of Sciences.

† Mr. *Charles Judge* Consul at *Chalons* on the *Marne*.

S I R,

“ I AM directed by the *Royal Academy* of Sci-
“ ences, to give this Answer to the Letter
“ they have receiv’d from your Nephew, which
“ you will have the Goodness to communicate to
“ him.

“ There is on the Register of the Academy,
“ in 1716, a Letter of the deceased Duke of
“ *Orleans* to the *Abbe Bignon*, in which that
“ Prince promises the Sum of 100,000 Francs,
“ to any Person, either *Frenchman* or Foreigner,
“ who, by the Judgment of the Academy, shall
“ discover the Secret of the Longitude. He
“ was then Regent of the Kingdom, and desired
“ this might be published, since that Time I
“ know of no Reward propos’d on this Head.

“ Whatever M. *Baratier* thinks fit to send
“ to the Academy, he may assure himself will
“ be received, not only with Pleasure, but with
“ a Kind of Prepossession in his Favour. This
“ you are desired to let him know. It is some
“ Time since, that I have learned from the
“ foreign Journals his Name and prodigious
“ Merit, for scarcely is the Word prodigious
“ strong enough to express it. To a vast Eru-
“ dition, such as certainly never was found in
“ so young a Head, he adds a Knowledge of
“ the Mathematicks, (which appears from his
“ Letter) as accurate as it is extensive. This
“ crowns the Prodigy. He need only, after this,
“ chuse in what Branch of Learning he inclines
“ to excel, and I foresee his Success.

“ As I would not unnecessarily multiply Let-
“ ters, I beg you to assure him of my sincere
“ Admiration.

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“Admiration. I congratulate you on such a
“Relation, and am with Respect,

Paris, Jan. 28,
1738, N. S.

Sir yours, &c

FONTENELLE.

*Perpetual Secretary of the
Royal Academy of Sciences.*

Encouraged by this obliging Letter, M. Baratier, in February, 1738, sent to the Royal Academy at Paris his Project relating to the Longitude, with three other Propositions, the first, respecting *Refraction*, the second, on the *Obliquity* of the *Ecliptic*, and the third, on the best Form of Astronomical Tables. The Judgment of the Academy was as follows.

*Extracts from the Register of the Royal Academy
of Sciences.*

March 22, 1738.

“M^Essieurs de Mairan and du Tay, appointed
“to examine a Memoir on the Longitude,
“of M. John Philip Baratier, M. A. and
“Member of the Royal Society at Berlin, who
“proposes discovering it by the Inclination of
“the Magnetic Needle, having made their Report.

“The Society is of Opinion, that this Method, which is the same with that proposed by
“M. de le Croix some Years ago, and which he
“continues to improve by Experiments, would
“bid fair to answer the End if it was attended
“with certainty. But it appears from a great
“Number of Observations made by skilful
“Persons, and particularly of late by Mr.
“Muschembroeck at Utrecht, that it is almost impossible to arrive at a sufficient Degree of
“Exactness

“ Exactness, by reason of the numberless In-
 “ conveniences found in the Construction of the
 “ Needle, in its Suspension, in the greater or
 “ lesser Aptitude of the Steel to contract the
 “ Magnetic Virtues, or in the Inequality of the
 “ Forces of different Load-stones. It is true,
 “ that M. *Baratier* assigns the Means of remedy-
 “ ing some of these Inconveniences, much like
 “ those offered by M. *de le Croix* ; but there
 “ still remain several Difficulties, almost insu-
 “ perable, to surmount ; so that, however inge-
 “ nious this Scheme may be, it will not answer
 “ in Practice, till we can render the Changes
 “ of the Needle’s Inclination uniform and sensi-
 “ ble, or reduce them to some known Law.
 “ This M. *Baratier* is no doubt capable of do-
 “ ing, if the Thing be possible.

April, 30. 1738.

“ MESSIEURS *Cassini* and *de Mairan*, appointed
 “ to examine three Propositions of M.
 “ *John Philip Baratier*, the first on *Refractions*,
 “ the second on the *Obliquity* of the *Ecliptic*, the
 “ third on the best Form of Astronomical
 “ Tables, having made their Report, the So-
 “ ciety is of Opinion,

“ With regard to the first, that the Method
 “ proposed to find these Refractions was rather
 “ ingenious than practicable, because it required
 “ observing the Azimuths and Heights of two
 “ Stars of precisely the same Declination, which
 “ is an extraordinary Case. That his Method,
 “ if practicable, would not be sufficiently uni-
 “ versal, since it reduces us to a Necessity of
 “ employing only those Stars which are exactly
 “ in the Equator,

“ As to the second Proposition, to find at all
 “ Times the Obliquity of the Ecliptic ; the Aca-
 “ demy

“ demy judges, that it is much more practicable
 “ as well as ingenious than the former, yet it
 “ appears not capable of the requisite Exactness ;
 “ for it supposes the true Declinations observed,
 “ and consequently the Altitude of the Pole, and
 “ the Refractions and Parallax, already known.
 “ There are even Cases, wherein a Mistake of a
 “ few Seconds, in these Declinations, will produce
 “ a very considerable Error in the Obliquity of
 “ the Ecliptic ; so that this Method is of Use
 “ only about the Time of the Equinoxes.

“ As to the Third Proposition, relating to a
 “ new Manner of constructing and calculating
 “ Astronomical Tables, they think it merits At-
 “ tention, and that they cannot too much encourage
 “ a Person, who, with all the necessary Talents,
 “ discovers such an Inclination to improve Astro-
 “ nomy. In Witness whereof, I have Signed
 “ these two Certificates at *Paris, May 4, 1738.*

FONTENELLE.

So far Mr. *Baratier* carried his Project. It is
 not a little strange, that the literary Journals of
 that Time, which affected to mention the Scheme
 of M. *de le Croix*, should be entirely silent with
 respect to that of our young Virtuoso, since the
 Academy of Sciences at *Paris* had it then under
 Consideration, as appears from the Date of the
 above Extracts. It seems however, not unworthy
 Remark, that two Persons so remote from each
 other, and who could not be suspected of borrowing
 from one another, or communicating their Disco-
 veries, should hit upon the same Plan, and pursue
 it in the same manner. Be this as it will, our young
 Master of Arts, seeing himself prevented by two
 such eminent Men, one in *France*, the other in
England, either of whom was more capable than he
 of

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of pushing their Enquiries, entirely gave up all Thoughts of his Project, and soon found other Amusements. He only drew a Sea Chart according to the Observations of the best Navigators, wherein he pretends to mark certain Points, that shew the regular Variations of the Magnetic Needle.

He even employed his Genius on War and Fortification, examining, criticizing, and comparing the Conduct of the greatest Commanders, antient and modern; drawing up Rules and Maxims proper to this Science, and even inventing new Plans of Fortification, and contriving new Instruments of War. The Knowledge he had acquired in the History of all Ages, from the original or best Writers, had furnished him with such political Lights, as enabled him to reason on State Affairs judiciously, for one so young, and who had no other Experience of Things, than what he got from reading, or his own Reflections.

The last Work that employed him, near the Close of his Life, and for which he had gathered large Materials from a great Number of Books, was, *Enquiries concerning the Egyptian Antiquities*. He imagined he had discovered a sure and demonstrative Principle, whereby he should be able to clear up the History of this Nation, the most antient of all others, which appeared to him very confused in all the Authors who have treated of it hitherto, not excepting Sir *John Marsham*, who seems to have exhausted the Subject. He reckoned he could regulate this Chaos, partly by decyphering the *Egyptian* Hieroglyphics, partly by a right Understanding of their Astronomy, their Canicular Year, Calendar, and Festivals. He had collected all that he could meet with in the antient Writers, or the Fragments of those which have perish'd, of the astronomical Epochs relating

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to this History. By Calculations formed on these Epochas, and on the *Egyptian* Calendars, he flattered himself, he should arrive at the Explanation of their Fables, Hieroglyphics, and Records. His View was to settle each Reign and each Event in so incontestable a Manner, as should greatly illustrate all the antient History. This was a Design he had much at Heart, and which he intended as his Master-piece.

The Reader will form some Idea of his Plan, from the following Extract of a Letter he wrote to M. *Le Maitre* on the Subject, dated at *Hall*, September, 13, 1740.

“ I think at present, I may perform the Promise
“ I made, of communicating to you the Plan
“ of my Work on the *Egyptians*. * * * * My
“ Design at first was only to rectify the Chrono-
“ logy of their antient Dynasties. Some new
“ Researches I made on this Subject led me to
“ this. When I had proceeded a little in my
“ Enquiries, I perceived that the Knowledge of
“ the Form of the antient *Egyptian* Year, and
“ even of some Parts of their Astronomy, was
“ necessary to my Project. In examining these,
“ the Discoveries I have made, carried me in-
“ sensibly into a Digression, which has become
“ half the Work ; and in which the Principles
“ of the *Egyptian* Astronomy, and the Epochas
“ of their History, will be fixed to a Demon-
“ stration.

“ To descend to Particulars. My Book is not
“ yet begun, tho’ I propose to set about it in a
“ Day or two. I have hitherto only been em-
“ ploy’d in collecting the necessary Materials for
“ it, that I might not be interrupted in the com-
“ piling. By this Means, in one Sense, the
“ most part of the Labour is over. I could have
“ wish’d

“ wish’d to have wrote it in *Latin*, both as more
 “ suitable to the Nature of the Subject, and as
 “ I find a Difficulty of expressing the Title of it
 “ in *French* ; while the *Latin* affords me a Variety
 “ of Terms every way proper.

“ I shall therefore give you the Plan of my
 “ Work in this last Language, just as if it were
 “ modelled according to the *Latin* Title you see
 “ at the Head of it, for in *French* the Arrangement
 “ will differ”.

The Title of the Plan which he sent to M.
Le Maitre was this,

*De Doctrina Temporum Secundum Rationes
 priscorum Egyptiorum. Lib. V.*

In this Work his Intention was to treat
 Book I. of the Form of the antient Year of the
Egyptians : Of their different Years : Of their
 moveable Year properly so called, the Nature of
 which is explained at large : Of their great
 canicular Period, in which the Revolution of their
 moveable Year is performed : Of the Beginning of
 the Canicular, that is, of this Year, and its Mo-
 tions : Of the *Egyptian Ori*, and their Nature :
 Of the *Egyptian* Months : Of the four vertical
 Points of their Year, and the Festivals celebrated
 at these Times : Of the three Seasons of the Year,
 and their attending Festivals : Of the Characters
 of the *Egyptian* Year, &c. In this Part many
 other Things are illustrated in Digressions.

Book II. Of the celestial System of the *Egyptians* :
 The Names and Order of the Planets : Of their
 Weeks : Of the *Egyptian* Sphere and its Figures :
 The Hypothesis of the *Egyptians* in relation to
 the Motion of the Stars, both fixed and erratic :
 Of the Rise of Astrology from the *Egyptian* Astro-
 nomy, the Periods of the Planets, the *Decanis*,
 Climacterics, and other Parts of their Astrology,
 the true meaning of which is explained. From
 these

these are demonstrated the Date of the first celestial Observations amongst the *Egyptians*, and their subsequent Improvements in Astronomy; which are the first and surest Foundations of the *Egyptian* Chronology. In this Part also are explained the *Egyptian* Cycles, their Calendar, &c.

Book III. Of the *Egyptian* Periods. Their Canicular Period; others proceeding from the Revolutions of their annual Festivals; an Enumeration of these. The Allegory of the *Egyptian* Sphinx fully cleared up. Their celebrated Epochas invented by *Nabonassar* and other learned *Egyptians*. The Astronomical Canon of the King's. Their Annals; the Forms of their Annals; their chronological Characters; their Method of computing the Years of their Princes; which will cast a Light on the *Egyptian* Coins, both of the *Ptolemy's* and the Emperors. From these Premises the History of the *Egyptian* Year and Canicular Period is collected.

Book IV. The general fundamental Points of the *Egyptian* History are firmly establish'd, by astronomical Characters, and by unquestionable Epochas.

Book V. The *Egyptian* History is explained, and a chronological Canon added by way of Appendix. In this and the foregoing Book, by the Aid of the former Part, many of the antient historical Monuments of *Egypt* are illustrated. The Synchronisms of the neighbouring Nations, particularly of the *Greek* Chronology before the *Trojan* War, are laid open. The *Egyptian* Mythology is explained. Their prodigious Series of Years, of which they boasted, their Gods, Demi-Gods, and Heroes are considered. The Succession of their Kings is set forth but imperfectly, because nothing is inserted in this Work, that is not unquestionable. For this Reason, wherever antient
Monuments

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Monuments fail, Breaches appear. But the Advantage is, that the rest may be relied upon more safely.

“ This, Sir, is a Sketch of the Plan of my
“ Work which I submit to your Judgment, and
“ am

Yours, &c.

This Project he communicated to some other of his Friends, but the divine Providence thought fit to blast it, as well as many others he had formed. All that remains is a Heap of Collections, unintelligible to any but himself. On one Hand he was stopped by the want of some Books, absolutely necessary, which could neither be had at *Hall, Leipzig*, or *Berlin*; and on the other Hand his Distemper, which daily grew worse, obliged him to quit all Thoughts but those of preparing for Eternity.

The Shades of Death were now about to eclipse this rising Luminary of Knowledge, and leave us only the sad Remembrance of its Lustre. Young Mr. *Baratier* had from his Infancy been of a weak and delicate Constitution, join'd to a lively Disposition of Mind. During the first four or five Years of his Life, he had several violent Fits of Illness, occasioned by his Teeth, which, however, he happily escaped. He also got over the Measles and Small Pox, so fatal to Children. The one he had between four and five Years old, and the other at Twelve. Till he was about Ten, he kept his Health tolerably, a few slight Colds excepted, and other little Disorders, which, tho' frequent, were but of short Continuance. These Indispositions often interrupted his Studies, and were considered by his Father, as so many providential Vacations ordered by Heaven for his young Pupil, who still returned with new Eagerness to his Learning. His Books were in truth all his Diversion, for he

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thought

thought of no other. Indeed at some Times he was so indolent, that he was incapable of the least Application. This Temper lasted now and then for Months together; during which he spent his Time in diverting himself, in conversing with the Family, or visiting with his Father and Mother; without reading any Thing, but his usual Portion of the Bible. At these Times he seemed to have lost all Taste for Reading or Study: No body heeded this; because they were sure he would soon recover his lost Days with Interest.

In the Spring of 1731, which was his eleventh Year, there came a pellucid swelling or Tumour into the Thumb of his right Hand. As it gave him no Pain; or Trouble, it was some Time before he spoke of it, or it was perceived. But growing at length troublesome, and forcing him to complain, all possible Remedies were immediately used, either to dispel the Tumour, or to bring it to a Suppuration. It continued till about *November*, without any bad Consequences; but upon searching it then, the Periostium was found to be carious. Immediately the Physicians and Surgeons were called in, who put him to great Torment, the former by their Medicines for purifying the Mass of Blood, the latter by their Operations, employing Incisions or Causticks, or the strongest Corrosives, to eat away the Flesh and remove the supposed carious Bone. In short, they Drew out some slight Splinters, which their Instruments or Corrosives had detach'd from the Bone. After enduring this Martyrdom for some Months, a Consultation of Physicians and Surgeons was assembled at *Nuremburg*, by the celebrated *M. Thomajus*, Dean of the Faculty, who had a particular Affection for the Youth. *M. Schulze*, at present Professor of Physic at *Hall*, who had no less regard for him, assisted at this Meeting,

ing, which was held in *June*, 1732. It was debated whether his Thumb should be cut off. The Faculty were of the negative Opinion, for several good Reasons, but they regulated a Method of managing it, both external and internal. His Father and Mother took on them the Care of dressing it, by Rules laid down at the Consultation, which were exactly followed. However his Thumb remain'd in much the same Condition to the End of his Life, sometimes more or less swelled, without the Sore making any Progress, or giving any further Pain, than what he felt, while under the Surgeon's Hands.

The natural Aversion he had to Physic, the Violence he underwent for some Time in taking Drugs of all Kinds, the Torment he suffered from the Operations he pass'd thro', the Insufficiency of all those Remedies, and the Difference of Opinion he observ'd in the Physicians or Surgeons, who attended him, or sent their Advice, gave him so insuperable an Aversion to Medicines, that he could never after be perswaded or influenced to take any. At the same Time he took such a Disgust at the Profession of Physick, that he never once had the Curiosity to read, or open a Book in that Science: The only one he despis'd, tho' it seem'd the most necessary for him to know. However, in the last Year of his Life, he appear'd inclinable to go thro' a Course of Anatomy, and to attend the Dissections and Lectures in the Neighbourhood: But it was then too late for him to go abroad.

The Disorder of his Thumb remain'd in the same Condition, yet he enjoy'd a tolerable State of Health. The Change of Air, by his Journies from *Schwobach* to *Berlin* and *Hall*, seem'd favourable to him. Notwithstanding a few slight Indispositions, short Loosenesses, which he had now and then, and Colds, to which he was naturally subject,

he had usually a healthy Look, a fresh Colour, and a chearful Temper, performing his natural Functions regularly, and sleeping well. He constantly, till ten Years old, pass'd twelve Hours in Bed, and ten Hours ever after till his Death; so that he slept near half his Life. Indeed Rest was his principal Support. He had a full Liberty indulg'd him in this Point, by his Parents, who made it a Rule to leave him to do as he would in all indifferent Matters.

Such was his state of Health, when towards Spring, 1739, he had a little Swelling between the Jaw-Bone and the Neck. It gave his Parents no great Alarm, because commonly at that Time of Year he had some Boil or Gathering, which soon disappear'd. This Tumour, as big as a Walnut, was easily brought to a Suppuration by Means of a Plaister. This obliged him to keep the House part of *April* and *May*; at the End of *May* he ventur'd abroad, keeping only a little black Plaister to cover the Scar. About this Time he was seiz'd with a troublesome Cough, of the Chincough kind, which however did not hinder him from walking, or visiting his Friends, and the publick Libraries soon after. By the Perswasions of his Parents he took more Care of himself, going out seldomer, and only in good Weather. At last he only went out when there was an absolute Necessity, or that he wanted to consult the publick Libraries. The last Time he was seen abroad was in the Middle of *August*. at the Sale of *M. Thomasus's* Books. From that Period his Cough increasing, and his Appetite growing daily worse, he found himself so weaken'd, that he resolv'd to confine himself till he grew better.

He shut himself up therefore at home amidst his Books, where he employ'd his Time on the *History of the War of thirty Years*, of which he
had

had wrote or minuted down as much as filled about twenty Leaves.

Near the End of *August* he collected these loose Papers, sent home all the Books he had borrowed, and quitting the Room he usually study'd in, where his Library was, he retired to his Father's Apartment, whither he caused the Books he wanted to be brought him. It must be acknowledged in praise of the *Literati*, and even the Booksellers, at *Hall*, that they were always ready to oblige him with every Thing in their Power, and during his Illness had the Complaisance to send him whatever Books he wanted out of their Shops or Studies: Excepting the Library of the Orphan's House, which was inexorable to all the Requests made in his Favour, the rest, both publick and private, as well as the Shops, were at his Devotion.

Thus our Patient passed his Time during the Months of *August*, *September*, and *October*, 1739. His Cough ripening, seem'd less troublesome, and he went up and down the House, dividing himself between his Books and his Friends who came to visit him. He even had thoughts of going out in *October* if the Weather permitted it. But suddenly, about the End of the Month, he was taken with a Fit of coughing, attended with a violent spitting of Blood; which Symptom returned two or three Days after, and was follow'd with two or three Relapses of the same kind. This new Disorder greatly weaken'd him, and determined him to pass the Winter at Home. At his own Desire, and with the Doctor's Approbation, a Vein was open'd, which stopp'd his spitting of Blood; but the long and severe Winter, of 1740, brought on him a Number of other Disorders, which succeeded each other without Interruption: A Fever on the Spirits, Head-Ach, Pains at his

Stomach, Oppressions at his Breast, frequent Vomitings, occasioned by the Violence of his Cough which never quitted him. At length, however, he seem'd to get the better of all these Maladies, having from Time to Time favourable Intervals, in which his Appetite return'd. He rested well, and resumed his natural Chearfulness and Spirit. This inspired all about him with new Hopes. Near the Middle of *September*, 1740, his Cough left him, and his Vomitings ceased. But this was quickly succeeded, with so violent an Oppression, that he could scarcely breathe, or speak without great Pain, and became so weak that he could not move a Step without Assistance. His Appetite and Rest forsook him, and his Taste, or rather Passion, for reading ceased, as he became incapable of it.

Till this Time, indeed, he had been always surrounded with a Heap of Books, relative to the different Projects he had in View; for he was perpetually forming some new Scheme, and it may be said he had cut himself out Work for an Age of Life. In the beginning of his last Illness he went on with a Dissertation he had begun on the Origin of some Nations famous in History, particularly the *Huns*, *Tartars*, *Chinese*, &c. After this he began a Discourse on the *Chinese* Tongue, to which he hoped to find a Key; and on the same Principles he studied to form an universal Language. He afterwards applied himself to the History of Philosophy, antient and modern, which he judged to have been imperfectly handled by the Authors who had treated of it. Then he return'd to the Study of Medals, on which he projected a new Treatise. At last he enter'd on his Enquiry into the Antiquities of *Egypt*, (abovementioned) which took up the three or four last Months of his Life. It was not altogether thro' an Inconstancy of Genius that he thus

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wandered from one Project to another. The want of necessary Helps often occasion'd this Change in his Designs. When he had formed a Plan, his first Care was to consider of and endeavour to procure the Books he thought of use to assist him in the accomplishing of it, to read them over, and make proper Extracts. These often suggested new Ideas, or referred to other Books on the same Subject, which it was necessary to consult: But as it often happened that these could not be had, he quitted the Project to which they were requisite, for some other, from which, perhaps, he was presently diverted by the like Difficulties, and so on. But he never was idle, while his State of Health permitted him to do any Thing, and his Transitions from one Scheme to the next were too quick to allow of his being tired with any.

He had till this Time conceived Hopes of Recovery, or at least of continuing a long time in this languishing Condition, which began to grow supportable, and not very disagreeable to him, while he could amuse himself with his Books. But eight or ten Days before his Death, he found himself so weak, so oppress'd, and emaciated, that he was obliged to quit his beloved Employment. Thus deprived of all that render'd Life sweet to him, scarce able to breath, incapable either of eating, sleeping, or even of moving himself, he only sigh'd for his Deliverance, and turned all his Thoughts towards Eternity. He often ask'd how long they thought he could last in such a Condition, adding his Life was now only a Burthen.

At length, having suffer'd his Illness with exemplary Patience and Resignation, being supported from his Bed to the Table, and from Table to Bed, still preserving his Mind calm and lively, tho' he could scarcely speak, his last Moment arrived unexpectedly, on *Wednesday, October 5, 1740*, at

two o' Clock in the Afternoon. He had all that Day, as usually, sat on a Couch, his Head supported by a Pile of Cushions, for he could not lie along. At one o' Clock he saw his Father and Mother dine without taking any Thing himself. He had tasted nothing that Day but three Dishes of Tea with Milk, which he swallow'd with Difficulty. He desir'd something else might be got for him. While it was preparing, he requested to be put to Bed, saying, he found himself very weak, and that he was near his End. He was laid down as he desir'd. Scarce was his Head on the Pillow, when, with a faint Voice, he pronounc'd the Word *Zeal*, meaning probably that they should pray with Zeal for him. Immediately after he lost his Speech and Senses. For when he was ask'd what the Word meant, he gave no Sign of Intelligence. At first his Parents, thinking it might be a fainting Fit, try'd all Means to recover him, but to no purpose, for he was no more sensible. A great Defluxion of clear Water, from his Head, flow'd out of his Mouth, and in half an Hour he gave up his Soul to his Creator, amidst the Tears and Prayers of the Assistants, without the least Distortion, or Indication of Pain, at the Age of nineteen Years, eight Months, and sixteen Days. Tho' his Death had been long expected, yet the Manner of it was sudden. If on the one hand the Stroke was on this Account more severe, on the other, his Parents had the Consolation not to see him struggling with a long Agony.

He expected and prepared for Death like a true Christian Hero and Philosopher. Trouble and Emotion had no Access to his Heart. He bore his Pains and Griefs modestly, and without breaking out into violent Complaints. He never seem'd much wedded to the present World. Even
from

from his Infancy he spoke of Death so unconcernedly, that he seem'd to think it equal with Life. He shew'd so little Care of his Person or Health, and so slightly valued the Means of preserving it, that it was easy to see, he was not design'd to live long. The World appear'd to him but as a Stage, and Life a kind of Play or Drama, in which every Man acts his Part for a short Time, waiting another State. About the Age of twelve or thirteen, he compos'd little Sermons, and the first Text he chose was that of the Preacher, *Vanity of Vanities ! all is Vanity !* Tho' he said not much on the Subject, yet his Father thought he said more than became a Child. When he apply'd first to Astronomy, he was so ravish'd with Admiration, on considering those vast Bodies that roll in the immense Space, that he thought himself imprison'd here below ; saying, he would gladly part with Life, to be able to contemplate them nearer Hand. Whatever Love he had for the Sciences, and all kinds of Learning, yet he perfectly knew the Emptiness and Insufficiency of them ; and was often so disgusted thereat, that he would have renounced them, if he could have found an Amusement more agreeable and solid. He regarded them only as Entertainments necessary to render Life supportable to a Philosopher. When he fell into metaphysical Speculations and the Search of Antiquities, he said he found such Obscurity and Uncertainty in our Knowledge, such Emptiness, Contradiction, Partiality, Darkeness, and even Falsification in the greatest Part of Historians and Writers, such trifling Tautology, Pedantry, and want of Taste, in Authors, especially the Modern, that he was almost tempted to renounce Study entirely, despairing to arrive at any Certainty. He was so dispassionate a Lover of Truth, that he would have sought it at
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the Hazard of his Life, either in the highest Regions or in the profoundest Abyſſes.

Towards of the Cloſe of his Days, having exhausted almoſt all the Libraries at *Hall*, by his vaſt reading, he ſaid there were ſo few original Authors, that it was fruitleſs Pain to collect and read ſo many Books; that there was nothing new under the Sun; that there was found in the antient Authors, and even thoſe of the remotest Ages, many Things which the Moderns boasted of as their own Invention and Discovery. Sometimes he grew even angry at Reading, complaining, the more Books he ſearched and peruſed the leſs he advanced in Knowledge; that he was every Day obliged to diſcredit ſomething, which the Day before perhaps had appeared well attested; and that the more he ſtrove to find Truth, he was the further from obtaining it. How often, when he was ready to ſettle his Diſquiſitions on ſome Point of Hiſtory and Antiquity, which he thought he had thoroughly examin'd, has he been ſtopp'd ſhort by ſome new Discovery, which overturn'd all his Labour, and plunged him into freſh Uncertainty? This particularly happened to him with Regard to the Reigns of *Severus* and *Caracalla*, which he had undertaken to clear up in ſettling the Chronology of the Popes. After conſulting all the Hiſtorians, and Monuments of thoſe Times, Medals, Inſcriptions, &c. after comparing the two laſt with each other, and with the Hiſtorians, after reviewing the antient and modern Chronologers, and writing a good deal on the Subject, he was obliged to give over, declaring he found ſuch impenetrable Darkneſs in the Hiſtory and Chronology of the Times from the Reign of *Trajan* to that of *Conſtantine*, that he could ſee no way of reconciling the Hiſtorians with one another, nor with the antient Monuments. How many Authors

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thors has he discover'd to be castrated, falsify'd, or Plagiaries? How many Contradictions has he expos'd at first View? So little was he prejudiced, even with Respect to his own Labours, and put so little a Value on all his Enquiries, that he intreated his Father to burn all his Manuscripts after his Death; saying, there was nothing he left worth preserving. But his Father, who thought such an Engagement improper, satisfied him, by bidding him rely as to that matter on his Prudence.

Such a Disposition of Mind, join'd to an infirm Body, render'd Life so indifferent to him, that he thought it not worth those excessive Cares that are usually taken of its Preservation. The Object of his wishes was such a State of Existence as might quench his insatiable Thirst of Knowledge, and lead him to the Truth, which he saw rested in God alone. In these Sentiments he lived and died, breathing out his Spirit to his Creator and Redeemer. One may say, he had nothing further to do or learn in this World; not all the Libraries on Earth could have saturated his Curiosity. It was Time he should go and quench his Passion in the eternal Source of Light, Truth, and Life.

Let us now resume the distinguishing Parts of his Character, and give his Picture the last Touches of the Pencil.

It appears from what has been said, and his Manuscripts prove it, that Physic excepted (for which he had a kind of Aversion) there are few other Sciences in which he was not well versed, or on which he had not employed his Genius. Extensive as his reading was, in almost every Branch of Learning, we may say that his Understanding was yet superior to his Erudition. His Head contained a real *Cyclopædia*, or universal System of Arts. In *Metaphysics*, he dived into the Speculations

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culations of the *Platonists*, and *Schoolmen*; into the
Writings of *Locke*, *Malbranche*, *Cudworth*, &c.
and trac'd the Labyrinth of their Reasonings, with-
out being confounded. Above all he had atten-
tively read *Spinosa*, whom he believed few well un-
derstood or confuted. This he propos'd to do,
if he had been spared longer Time, or had not
been diverted from his Purpose by a Variety of
other Studies. This Variety was indeed necessary
to draw him from such abstracted Speculations as
were too intense for his weak Constitution, and
might have hurt his Brain. In *Philosophy* he
formed an original Rule of his own, making new
Systems in every thing he undertook. He pre-
sently found what was new in any Author, or
essential in each Branch of Knowledge, and soon
overcame the thorny Fences that inclose the
Sciences in the Schools and in Books. He had a
Delicacy and Exactness that made him think and
express himself justly, in a masterly and sublime
Manner, on every Subject, either in Verse or
Prose; and this with ease and Promptitude. He
had a Cheerfulness that seem'd to make a Diver-
sion of the most abstract Subjects, and could
render the most barren agreeable in Conversation.
He had a Quickness of Apprehension, that ena-
bled him to him to write, translate, or compose,
with wonderful Facility. When he met with a
curious Book, of which he wanted to communicate
any Passage to others, whether *Greek*, *Hebrew*,
Syriac, or even *Arabic*, *English*, *Italian*, or
Dutch, tho' he was not quite a Master in the last
four Languages, yet he would read it in *French*
or *Latin* as readily as if it were wrote in the
Tongue he spoke it. This he had been bred up
to from his Infancy. At the Age of eight or nine
Years he read in the Family, by way of Divine
Service, some Chapters of the Bible in *French*,
from

from the *Hebrew* or *Greek*, and afterwards from the *Syriac* or *Arabic*, not without often making very just and critical Reflections on the Difference between the original and oriental Versions and the Vulgate; which last he never would read, after he had once become acquainted with the Originals. By this Means he was so expert in Holy Writ, that he had it almost all by Heart. His Curiosity and Diligence led him to run over all the Libraries or Catalogues and Journals he could find, to search after such Books as seemed for his Purpose. At the first View of a Book, he knew how far it would answer his End. Whenever he found an Error or Historical Truth, unnoticed before, he traced it thro' all the Authors who had written of it, till he discover'd its Source. He seldom made Extracts or Collections, except from Books which were rare, and he had no Hope of seeing again: With respect to others he knew in each Volume the Page of what he had occasion for. Most of the celebrated original Authors he observed to be guilty of Mistakes.

The Extent of his Reading appears, from a Catalogue that his Father kept of the Books he had borrow'd only, and perused, during his Residence at *Hall*. This Catalogue contains nothing but the Titles, which, altho' written very close, fill no less than 42 Pages in 4to. To give but a single Instance of the Rapidity with which he run over every Thing, this Catalogue shews, that in one Winter, in less than six Months, he read the twenty vast Volumes in Folio, *High Dutch*, of the *Theatrum Europæum*, besides his intermediate Studies. He never confin'd himself in this Respect, but skipp'd from one Science to another without Confusion or Trouble. Yet, tho' he read so much and so quickly, he forgot nothing, but when occasion offer'd, not only could quote the

Passage,

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Passage, but in Conversation relate it with Exactness and Elegance, in the most circumstantial Manner.

As to his Morals they were blameless, and indeed could not be otherwise. Constantly under the Inspection of his Parents, from whom he never was absent, he had no Opportunity to contract ill Habits. Always chearful, merry, and indulged in all innocent Liberties at home, he diverted himself at a small Expence, and was never dull or melancholy. He was neither fond of Cards, Dancing, Sporting, Drinking, nor Merry-making, the usual Delights of Youth. If he sometimes was forced to play at Cards, in Complaisance, he did it so carelessly, and with so little Attention, that it might be discover'd he took little Pleasure in it. Walking and Conversation with his Parents, or with agreeable and select Company, were his chief Amusements. At his first Arrival at *Hall* he took great Pains to form a literary Society amongst the Gentlemen of that University. He even drew up a Plan, which he propos'd to some of the Professors, offering himself to be Secretary to the Assembly. This Project not succeeding, or being defer'd from time to time, he associated with some Students of the Place, who were approv'd by his Parents. With these he read the Journals, and such Books as were newly publish'd, all which they jointly examin'd and gave their Opinions of. This Society he kept up as long as his Health allow'd, or he found good Materials to keep it alive. Their Custom was to meet alternately at each others House, or at some Party of Pleasure out of Town. He also visited the Professors when their Conve-
niency allow'd.

He could not bear Music, at least near hand, saying it either stunn'd him, tir'd him, or made him

him sleepy. For this Reason he avoided all Companies where it was encourag'd. He had himself no Voice, or Inclination for singing. But he was on the other Hand a great Admirer of Poetry. It appears by several Essays, compos'd for his own Diversion, as well as by his Reflexions on the antient and modern Poets, that he had a Genius for this Art, and that he wanted neither Imagination, Fire, or Judgment, if he had apply'd to it.

Temperate by Disposition as well as Choice, even beyond the Desire of his Friends, he was not made for what the World calls *good Living*. It was necessary to solicit his Appetite, rather than curb it, and it was just the Reverse with his Inclination to study. He scarce eat either Greens or Roots, or Fish; nor Flesh, whether roasted or boiled, but seldom, and in a small Quantity. His usual Food was Soup, or boil'd Milk with Bohea Tea, Bread and Butter, Fruits, Biscuits, or sweet Meats. He seldom in a Week eat as much as other young People of his Age in a Day or two. He drank neither Beer, Coffee, nor Chocolate, and took his Wine mixed, the greater Part Water, very seldom pure, or at least only a Glass or two. He could not endure spirituous Liquors, nor Tobacco, either in Snuff or smoaking. With such a Constitution it is easy to judge, how little Value he set on high living, and how great his Aversion was to all Manner of Gluttony and Excess. He was never known to indulge himself this Way; nor was he ever known to lie. The innocent Liberty he enjoy'd at Home kept him free of these common Vices of Youth, which are too often the Effects of a servile and strict Education.

If he had any Vices (as no doubt he had) they were Faults of the Mind, such as are unseparabie from

from human Weakness. Of this kind we may reckon his insatiable Curiosity, and the Liberty he took in philosophizing. He has often for this been reprimanded by his Parents, especially while at *Hall*, where the Conversation of young People gave him Encouragement to scepticise. But they never on this Score used him with any Harshness or ill Treatment. He never was whipp'd but once, at about four or five Years old, on a singular Occasion *, set down by his Father, in the

* The Fact I refer to is thus represented by his Father.—
 “ I know not, Sir, if I should relate to you on this Head a particular Account which will give you some Notion of the Method I
 “ take with my Son, and the Effect it has. When he was recover'd
 “ from the Small Pox, and had resumed the usual Course of his
 “ Learning, he was for some time so lazy and inattentive, that tho'
 “ he importuned me to give him his Lessons, and that I yielded
 “ with Reluctance to his Intreaties, I could do no good with
 “ him. I sometimes took the Book from him, or shut it, or left
 “ him three or four Times in his Lesson, telling him I could
 “ not bear to hear him read so carelessly. Still he ran after me,
 “ begging me to hear him, and promising me to behave better,
 “ but I always consented with Difficulty, and as if I was
 “ prevail'd on by his Mother. As he continued this Way a
 “ good while, one Day, after two or three Reproofs, I grew
 “ impatient, and rising from my Seat, I left him with the Book
 “ in his Hands, telling him, he might, if he would, read to
 “ himself as long as he pleased, but that for me I was resolv'd
 “ not to hear him until he mended his Conduct. He ran, as
 “ usual, after me, entreating me to come back. For this Time
 “ however I had determin'd to be inexorable. When he saw
 “ this, he burst into Tears, Cries, and Importunities, and carried his Passion so excessively far, as to endeavour to force me
 “ to hear him. His Mother who was present and saw all this
 “ Management, grew angry at his Obstinacy and whipp'd him;
 “ Insensible of this Correction, he persisted to follow me, crying he would read. I then whipp'd him in my Turn. This
 “ had as little Success, he redoubled his Cries, so that I was
 “ forc'd to give him a third Dose, and retire to my Closet,
 “ shutting the Door, without hearing him, or suffering him to
 “ follow me. After he had a little recover'd himself with his
 “ Mother, he came to throw himself on his Knees to me, asking me Pardon in the most agreeable Manner, and promising
 “ very seriously he would never for the future be such a Fool

History

History of his Son's Education, published in *High-Dutch*.

Having never had any Preceptor but his Father, who made his Studies a Diversion to him, he was unacquainted with the Severity of a School-master or mercenary Pedagogue, and never underwent an Hour's ill Usage in the whole Progress of his Learning. His Father always took Care mildly and insensibly to mould his Son's Disposition to what he desired, without employing Authority, much less Constraint or Violence. By this means the Pupil imagined he followed only his own Inclinations, while he was secretly directed by his wife Guide. Sometimes, on the other hand, and indeed pretty often, the Father was obliged to yield to his Son's Humour, and seem to approve, what he only had the Indulgence to permit. Thus he never exacted from him the Duties that torture Children in the public Schools. The Youth had no Exercises to make, Themes to write, Vocabularies to turn over, or Forms of Prayer or Catechisms to get by Heart. If he committed the *Hebrew* Psalms to Memory, or other things of that Kind, it was of his own Accord, and a Work of Supererrogation. He made a Pleasure and Merit of it, not a Pain. The greatest Difficulty his Father had was to fix this volatile Spirit long enough on a Subject, to give him a distinct Idea of it, and to check his insatiable Desire of seeing and knowing all things at once. This free and liberal Education preserved all the Gayety and Vivacity of his Genius; nothing in his Manners

“ as to deserve the like Correction, with a great many Things
 “ of that kind. I then let him know that it was not for his
 “ bad Reading I chastis'd him, that it was indifferent to me
 “ whether he took Pains to read or not, but that it was his In-
 “ solence and Obstinacy he was punish'd for. This was the
 “ only Time he was ever corrected in earnest, and he never
 “ gave Occasion for it again.”

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appeared forced, nothing pedantic in his Discourse. This Character he sustained both at Court, and in the City.

Notwithstanding this Sprightliness, he was reserved, or so indolent, especially towards the End of his Life, that far from making a shew of his Talents and Learning, he on the contrary affected to conceal them before Persons who were either unknown or disagreeable to him. Silent and cold to these, as he was open, chearful, and merry with his Friends, he appeared like two different Persons. He was intimate with very few, and it required more than to be a Man of Learning to obtain his Confidence and engage him to talk freely. Not content with Knowledge only in his Friends, he required the Qualities of the Heart, and a certain turn of Mind, which he seldom found in the Professors of Science. On this Account, of all that have seen him, or were acquainted with him, very few really knew him. We might indeed name some, with whom he was familiar; but to avoid Jealousy, we will content ourselves with saying, that, of Strangers, none knew him better than *M. Le Maître*, with whom he had been conversant from his Infancy, and kept a regular Correspondence to the Time of his Death *. He was however during his Life honour'd with the Esteem and Friendship of several Persons distinguish'd for their Merit, Rank, and Learning, in *Franconia*, at *Berlin*, at *Leip-*

* These Letters are for the most Part curious Dissertations on several Subjects of Learning, Criticism, History, Antiquity, Philosophy, and Divinity. Of these *M. Le Maître* has near 200, which he will not envy the Public, if any Bookseller inclines to print them. Besides this regular Correspondent, *M. Baratier* had several others, whose Letters are found amongst his Papers, and who are in Possession of his Answers, all these would make a good Collection.

sick, and at *Hall*. There is no doubt but his Memory is dear to these; and we may venture to assert with Confidence, that many of them will by their Testimony confirm the Truth of this Relation, which none of them can deny. Of all those who were most intimate with him at *Hall*, especially during his Illness, Gratitude obliges to mention M. *Alion*, an eminent Physician, and M. *Necker*, Governor to the Baron of *Gernsdorff*. The first never discontinued his tender and faithful Services to this dying Youth, and the second often reliev'd him with his Conversation, and the kind Offices of Friendship.

His Reservedness is not to be wonder'd at, as he was entirely free from Ambition and Vanity. As he was fix'd to nothing, he devoted himself to no Employment, lest he should constrain or interrupt the Freedom of his Studies. For a long Time he had assisted at no academical Dispute, either from Indolence, or a Dislike to these Exercises, in which, however, he was so capable of distinguishing himself. Thus, when the King of *Prussia* gave him Hopes of raising his Fortune, by studying the Civil Law, he freely reply'd, he sought neither Honours, Posts, nor Riches, but preferr'd Quiet, and the Liberty of Studying at his Ease, to all the Splendor of a Court. For this Reason he never return'd to *Berlin*, nor cultivated the noble Patronage he had there. His Parents, who were as philosophical as himself in this Respect, and who, besides, foresaw the Brevity of his Life, chose to leave him wholly at his Liberty. The only Post he would have been ambitious of, and which suited him best, was that of a Librarian. This would have been his Element, as his Memory was a living Library. He had made such a Progress in literary History, that there were scarce any Books

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of Note, in any Faculty, which he was not acquainted with, or had not seen Extracts of, having read all the Journals which appear'd till his Death.

In the Beginning of this Work we observed, that we intended no Panegyric, and it is proper to repeat it here. What we have said, consists of Facts, which we have no way exaggerated, and which can be attested by a Crowd of living Witnesses. Let the Reader draw from these what Consequences he thinks proper. We dont pretend to consecrate as Virtues all the Qualities we have ascrib'd to our literary Hero. There is scarcely any Thing in Life without two Aspects; but as nothing is perfect here below, every Character where the Good exceeds the Bad, so far as to eclipse it from the Eyes of Criticism, is worthy to be propos'd as a Model both to the present Age and to Posterity.

If it be yet necessary to add a more authentic Confirmation of this Narrative, there cannot be one wished more solemn, or less suspected, than the unanimous Suffrage of the University of *Hall*, which of its own Accord has erected a literary Monument to the Memory of the Deceas'd: The more honourable, as neither M. *Baratier* the Father, nor any of his Friends, employ'd the least Interest, directly or indirectly, to obtain it, and was conferr'd even without their expecting it. This Honour is more generous on the Side of the University, and more glorious to the Deceas'd, as he was a Foreigner, with respect to Country, and of a different Communion. The University not only signaliz'd their Affection to him, by defraying, at the publick Charge, the academical Honours of his Funeral, and attending him to the Grave, but also by printing the Abridgment of his Life, accompanied with an Elegy from every Professor

Professor. Thirty ocular Witnesses, of undoubted Capacity, agree to represent him as a Prodigy of Learning, which excited their joint Admiration.

Above all, the worthy Chancellor of the University, M. de Ludewig has distinguished himself, both by his Intention of having the Deceased, whose Conversation he loved, a Partner of his Tomb, and by the strong and pathetic Elogium, with which he has grac'd him, in the Collection consecrated by the University to his Memory. This Piece is too curious to refuse the Reader a Copy of it.

An Abridgment of the Eulogium and Life of M. JOHN PHILIP BARATIER, born Jan. 19, 1721, deceas'd October 5, 1740. by John Peter Ludewig, Chancellor of the University of Hall.

A sweet, but fading Flower, a Youth, a Boy, mature in Learning, not in Years. You may justly call him a Prodigy of Nature. Even we who were present wonder'd at it. Those who are absent will scarce credit what almost exceeds human Lot. Our Posterity perhaps will look on what we write, as the excessive Benevolence of Praise to the Ashes of those we love. Yet our Pen shall merit Belief, on this Account, that what we write of the Deceased, we write from our own Knowledge, not the Testimony of others; that we take nothing on Trust, the Parents of the Deceased being alive, who would rather have their dear Son restor'd than hear him vain-gloriously praised. I know that in all Ages early Geniuses have appeared, whose Characters and Names are commended in History. I mean not to detract from the Merit of these. But our Youth by his Writings and Conversation has convinced us, that

he deserves the Palm. Those who have made early Improvements in some particular Branch of Learning only, must yield the Wreath to him, who scarce past his Infancy, yet knew the whole Circle of Learning. Some before him may have excell'd in Quickness of Memory, others in Force of Genius, our Youth was equal to the most eminent for both, and of so solid a Judgment, that in his Childhood he gave Proofs of his Wisdom and Learning altogether uncommon. I write from my own Experience, that, Physic excepted, he understood all the Parts of Philosophy, Philology, Divinity, and Law, not slightly but thoroughly. In *Hebrew, Greek, and Latin*, he was well versed, and even understood the Rabbinical Writers, as appear'd by his happy Translations of them. Mathematics he learn'd, chiefly from the *French* Authors, of his own Accord. In this Science he made such Progress, that he could point out Errors in the best astronomical Calculations, and raise Objections to those who had pass'd their Lives in that Study. In theoretic Philosophy he chiefly esteem'd *Aristotle*. In the practical Part he had examined all the antient *Greek* Sects carefully, and was about forming a System of his own. He had read the civil and sacred History of every Age and Nation. Having tasted the Springs of Literature, he loathed the Streams, polluted with Dregs and Impurity. In antient Chronology he was critically skill'd, and detected Errors in Authors the most approved for their Fidelity. Thence he earnestly pursued the Study of antient Coins and Medals, that, as he said, with this *Herculean* Club, he might be enabled to destroy the Monsters of Falshood. In explaining the *Egyptian* Hieroglyphics he wish'd for more judicious Authors, many of whom he imagined to lie conceal'd amongst the *Asiatic* Nations, buried in Dust and Oblivion, thro' their Neglect of Learning
and

and Ignorance of Printing. He willingly heard the Professors of the Civil Law, but that Study was little to his Taste. His Mind was too active to be confin'd to any particular Science. He publish'd some Pieces in his Childhood, others in his Youth, full of Sense and Learning, and in which nothing appears either trifling or juvenile. Many Things he left unfinish'd in Manuscript in almost every Branch of Knowledge. Thus employ'd in the unwearied Pursuit of Learning, cut off by Death, he was snatch'd away from his Parents, from our University, and the learned World, a publick Loss! *October 5, 1740.* His Remains I have taken into my Family Tomb, large and fair and spacious enough, that he whom I lov'd while living, may accompany me in the Grave, perhaps soon, for I am now above seventy. So is the Order of Nature revers'd. Wrote at *Hall,* *December 10, 1740.*

M. *Le Maitre*, his old and constant Friend, exercised his Sorrow by some Pieces of Poëtry, of which we shall only give the Reader the following Epitaph *.

* This is only a Paraphrase of the Elegy of Mr. Professor *Schulze* in *Latin* in the Academical Collection.

*Allemands & Francois, Hebreux, Grecs & Latins,
Chaldeens, Syriens, Rabbins, Samaritans,
Arabes, Indiens, chacun ici regrette
De son propre Langue, un habile interprete.
Grand Philosophe, aussi, bon Theologien,
Fort expert en tout droit, Poete, Historien,
Astronome, Critique, enfin ici repose
Dans ette Tombe encluse,
Hormis de Galien la triste facultè,
Une illustre université.
Si le fait semble inconcevable
HALLE jera toujours un temoin respectable
Qu'a moins de vint ans BARATIER
D'un peuple de sçavans forma le Corps entier.*

There only remains to give the Catalogue of Mr. *Baratier's* Works, both such as have been publish'd, and such as remain in Manuscript. We have already in his Life mark'd the Titles and Occasions of his chief Productions, so that we shall just barely give a List of them. As to his Manuscripts it is proper to give a more particular Account of them, with the Date of their Composition, and some other Circumstances, that tend to corroborate what we have said of the rapid Progress, prodigious Labours, and new but changeable Schemes of our young Philosopher. His Friends recollect other Subjects he has treated of besides those his Manuscripts mention, but as he wrote his Thoughts on loose Papers, which he usually carried about, either to shew his Friends, or conceal them, many are lost. He also destroy'd many himself, or cast them amongst waste Papers, as often as he went thro' his Writings. The Reader will not imagine we give this List to have these Pieces publish'd. For the greatest Part are imperfect Fragments, or literary Embrios which never came to Maturity. All the Use they can be of is to furnish a good *Barateriana*. However Mr. *Baratier*, the Father, is willing to communicate these Pieces which we mention to the Curious, if it were only to shew that he has no Intention to deceive the Publick.

P I E C E S publish'd.

I. **A** Letter on the Rabbinical Bible of Rabbi *Moses Francfort*, publish'd at *Amsterdam*, 1734-38. wrote in *September*, 1731. inserted in the *Bibliotheca Germanica*, Tom. XXVI.

II. The Travels of Rabbi *Benjamin*, Son of *Jonas* of *Tudela*, translated from the *Hebrew*, with Notes and Dissertations; wrote in 1732. publish'd in 1734. 2 Vol. in 8vo. by the Society of Booksellers at *Amsterdam*.

III.

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III. *Anti-Artemonius, seu initium S. Johannis ex Antiquitate Ecclesiastica adversus Artemonium vindicatum atque illustratum, &c.* wrote in 1733, 1734. published in 1735. at Nuremberg, by *John Francis Rudiger*, in 8vo. Pag.*526.

IV. A Letter dated *March 29, 1734.* in which is contain'd several Projects of a Work, on *Ecclesiastical History*. Inserted in the *Bibliotheca Germanica*, Tom. XXXIII.

V. *Theses Philosophiæ inaugurales variæ*; maintain'd at *Hall* in *Saxony*, *March 2, 1735.* for the Degree of Master of Arts.

VI. A Letter, on a Work falsely ascrib'd to *St. Albanasius*, and restor'd to *Hegesippus*, *Jan. 29, 1737.* inserted in the *Bibliotheca Germ.* Tom. XI.

VII. A Dissertation on several Pièces of *Theodoret*, in answer to the *Journal de Trevaux*. In the *Biblioth. German.* Tom. XLVIII.

VIII. A Letter or Dissertation on the Proconsular Dignity amongst the *Romans*. *Anno 1738.* In the *Bibliotheca Germanica*, Tom. XLV.

IX. A Defence of the *Sicilian* Monarchy, translated from the *High Dutch* of the Chancellor *M. de Lüdewig*. There is added a brief History of the Controversy between *Clement XI.* and the Kings of the two *Sicilies*. Printed at *Hall* in 1738. 90 Pages in 4to.

X. An Explanation of a rare and curious Medal of the Emperor *Caligula* in *High Dutch*; inserted in the *Hall Gazette*, 1738.

XI. A Chronological Enquiry into the earliest Succession of the Bishops of *Rome*, with four Dissertations, &c. wrote in the Years 1738 and 1739. printed at *Utrecht* by *Stephen Neaulme*, 1740. 4to. Pag. 314.

MANUSCRIPTS.

I. **H**IS first Copies from Scripture, in 48 Pages, from *June 1725, to March 1728.*
Mr.

Mr. *Baratier* has thought proper to preserve this Book of his Son's as a Curiosity, 1. Because it shews the Progress he made in the Bible. 2. On account of several little Remarks of his own that are interspersed. 3. Because by the Help of these Copies he learn'd to read the *Greek* and *Hebrew* without Trouble.

II. A Volume bound in 8vo. of 305 Pages, begun *December* 15, 1728. and finish'd *February* 4, 1730. containing the *Biblia Parva* of *Henry Opius* in *Hebrew* and *Latin*.

N. B. From *March* to *September*, 1738. he employ'd himself to write the Conjugations and Declinations in *Latin*, *French*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, on loose Leaves, which have been lost.

III. A Volume bound in 4to. of 387 Pages, begun *February* 4, 1730, and finish'd *November* 4. the same Year, containing a *Chaldaic* and *Hebrew* Dictionary of the most difficult and rare Words that occur in the holy Scriptures; interspersed with critical and philological Observations in *Latin*.

IV. *Observationes Miscellaneæ in varios Scripturæ locos*, composed in *July* 1730, 16 Pages in 4to.

V. *Historia Judæorum ab Abraham, &c.* about the same Date, 24 Pages in 4to.

VI. *Introductio Philologico critica in S. S. V. & N. T.* *January* 1731. 40 Pages in 4to.

VII. A *Greek* Grammar, 4to. of 80 Pages, begun *March* 9, and finish'd *May* 17, 1731.

VIII. A *Greek* Dictionary on the *New Testament*, intermix'd with critical and philological Remarks, 4to. of 230 Pages, from *May* 19, to *November* 30, 1731.

IX. A small Collection of *Hebrew* Poems, 8vo. 1731. Several that were in loose Leaves are lost.

X. *Excerpta & Miscellanea Hebreia varia*; 50 Pages in 4to. 1732-3.

XI. *Spi-*

XI. *Spicilegium Hebraicum, seu Excerpta selecta ex Rabbiniis*, Latine reddita, in *Genesim Cap. i.--xxii. & in Daniel Cap. i.---ix.* 4to. 8 Pages, January, 1733.

XII. Synoptic Tables of Divinity, with a small *Latin* Treatise on the Perfections of God, and a Confession of Faith, in *French*. The whole making 64 Pages in 4to. May, 1733.

XIII. *Photiana*, or Extracts from the *Bibliotheca of Photius*, translated from the *Greek* into *French*, 24 Pages in 4to. of the same Date.

XIV. A Dissertation on the antient Confessions of Faith. 32 Pages in 4to. 1733.

XV. Canons of Doctrine and Discipline, taken from the Councils, and dispos'd under their proper Heads in several Columns, on three large Sheets, 1733.

XVI. An Essay towards a Body of Doctrine and Discipline, extracted from the Councils of the fifth or sixth first Ages of the Church, 20 Pages in 4to. June, 1733.

XVII. *Opus Hæresiologicum*, 4to. 200 Pages, begun September, 1733.

XVIII. A History of *Nestorius* and *Nestorianism*, in *French*, 4to. 27 Pages, 1733.

XIX. A *Latin* Dissertation on the Gospel of *St. Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*, 4to. 16 Pages, imperfect, 1735 or 1736.

XX. A Dissertation on the Council of *Sardis* in *Latin*, 4to. 26 Pages, of the same Date.

XXI. A Bundle in 4to. containing several Essays, Fragments of Poetry, and other Pieces in *French*, wrote at *Hall*, 1735---1739. Amongst others are these Pieces ;

1. The History of the Revolutions and Wars of *Parnassus*, 4to. 48 Pages, unfinish'd.

2. The *Thebaide*, or Death of *Jocasta*, 4to. 48 Pages.

3. Reflexions on the *Thebaides* of *Eschylus*, *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, *Seneca*, *Statius*, and *Racine*, 67 Pages, 4to.

4. A Dissertation, or Reflexions on the Nature of the *Sublime*, 4to. 10 Pages.

5. A Collection of several Poems, which he intended to add to the foregoing, 30 Pages, 4to.

6. Several Poems on loose Leaves.

7. Critical Reflexions on the Progress of Learning, with Regard to the different Ages and Nations of the World.

N. B. This is only a Plan, containing the Heads of fifty-three Chapters, divided into five Books.

XXII. Another Packet containing the following Pieces of Law.

1. *Elementorum Juris Naturæ atque Gentium, Philosophiæ sanioris principii Innixorum Prolegomena*, 1736. in 12 Sheets, or near 100 Pages 4to.

2. A Dissertation on the Difference between the Civil Law and the Law of Nature, in *Latin*, 20 Pages.

3. A *Latin* Dissertation on the four Laws call'd *Maledicta*, 18 Pages.

4. A *French* Dissertation on the Independency of the *Sicilian* Monarchy, different from the Translation of M. de *Ludewig*; 29 Pages.

5. A Volume bound in 4to of 152 Pages, containing the Lectures of M. de *Ludewig* on the Law of Nations.

6. The Lectures of Mess. *Heineccius*, *Boebmer*, and *Gasser* on the *Pandect*, those of M. de *Ludewig* on the Feudal Law, and of M. *Heineccius* on Law of Exchange.

7. An Essay of a Speech for the Bar in 6 or 7 Pages in *High Dutch*, which served him as a College Exercise.

XXIII. A Packet containing divers philosophical, mathematical, and astronomical Pieces, viz.

1. A Chart of the Needle's Inclination and Declination.

2. A Plan of Fortification; of his own Invention.

3. His Project on the Longitude, as sent to *London* and *Berlin*, 1735.

4. His last Project on the Longitude, as sent to *London* and *Paris*, 1738, with the astronomical Propositions annexed.

5. Two *Latin* Treatises, on the Method of observing the Stars, and composing right Tables of them, 4to. one of 44, the other of 20 Pages.

6. Several astronomical Calculations on the Motion of the Satellites of *Jupiter*, fol. 7 or 8 Leaves.

7. Two little 8vo Volumes filled with astronomical Calculations.

8. Essays in Philosophy and Mathematicks, on the Nature, Causes, and Effects of Motion in general, and that of the heavenly Bodies in particular; wrote in *French*, 6 Pages 4to.

9. *Theoria motus Corporum Cælestium*, 4to. 12 P.

XXIV. Another Packet containing,

1. *Conatus Historicus ad Restituendam, numismatum Inscriptionumque fide, & optimorum auctorum eruto consensu, Severi & Antonini Aug. Historiam*, fol. 15 Pages, 1738.

2. Sixteen Leaves filled with Enquiries and Discussions on the Consuls, Proconsuls, ecclesiastical History and Antiquities of several Nations, Medals, and the oriental Languages, &c.

3. Several Fragments in Criticism, Metaphysics, &c.

XXV. An History of the War of 30 Years in *Germany*, fol. 37 Pages.

XXVI. A Packet containing,

1. Reflexions on the different Parts of the Art of War, and of its History, 4to. 76 Pages.

2. Seven or 8 Leaves in *High Dutch* on the same Subject.

3. A *Latin* Dissertation on the Original of the *Germans*, 4to. 12 Pages.

4. A Fragment on the Origin of the *Huns*, 14 P.

5. A Fragment on the Nature and Idiom of the *Chinese* Tongue, and the Method of learning it in a short Time.

6. An Essay on the *Phrygian* Language, the Mother-Tongue of the *Greek, Latin, Celtic, High Dutch, Persian, and Tartarian*. A Fragment of 4 P.

7. A Letter of 12 Pages on two Articles of the *Journal De Trevaux*, 1737. in relation to Mess. *Leibnitz* and *Pope*.

8. A Fragment of 6 Pages on the Letters CONOB found in the Medals of the later Emperors.

9. Several loose Leaves on the Antiquities of *Egypt*.

What a Crowd of Ideas, and what extensive Scenes of Knowledge crowded in so young a Head! Let us conclude with admiring and adoring the great Father of all our Intelligence. This supreme Being delights now and then to shew how far the Force of the human Mind extends, and to make the *Mouths of Children speak his Praises*. Nothing can be more effectual than such Examples to confound those absurd Philosophers, who would debase our Nature to that of Brutes, and by this odious Parallel destroy our Hope of a glorious Immortality. A Soul capable to rise to such sublime Discoveries, to comprehend such extensive Prospects, was never made to perish with the Body, or destin'd for a dark State of Annihilation. I should rather chuse to adopt the antient System of Emanations, and look on it as a Particle of the Deity, which returns to its Source. Let us not doubt, but that God who gave it us, takes it not away, but to compleat at once its Desire of Knowledge and Happiness, by freeing it from the corporeal Shackles that embarras'd it in its Enquiries after Truth.

F I N I S.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORKS of the LEARNED.

For NOVEMBER, 1743.

ARTICLE XII.

An Abstract of Dr. Sykes's Examination of Mr. Warburton's Account of the Conduct of the Ancient Legislators, of the double Doctrine of the old Philosophers, of the Theocracy of the Jews, and of Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology.

The Conduct of the old Legislators considered.



R. Warburton, in his Book of the divine Legation of *Moses*, &c. undertakes to prove, that the Conduct of *Moses* in his Legislation was different from that of all other Legislators in theirs; and the Difference he makes to be this, that the Doctrine of a * future State was not inculcated by *Moses*, but that it was by all the rest. That the other old Legislators did inculcate it, he endeavours to prove from

* Wherever the Words *A future State* occur here, they always mean a future State of Rewards and Punishments.

the particulars of their Conduct. With regard to this, he maintains, that they made a Providence in its full extent the Sanction of their Laws, or pre-faced them with it. But this is so far from being true, that he neither has produced one single Law-giver that has done so, nor can he; and the utmost that can be concluded from what any of them have left us is, that they mentioned the Gods in their Laws, or provided for their worship, which is a very different Thing.—To Instance in Particulars. In the Proemium to *Zaleuchus's* Laws, there is not a Word of a future State, as the Sanction of his Laws, or of a Providence in its full Extent. He mentions the Gods as the Authors of all the good Things we enjoy, but he plainly means the present good Things: the Way to attain them is, he says, to be good both in Principle and Practice: He does not mention an *hereafter*, but says, Men must keep their Minds free from Evil, *because* God is not honoured by a wicked Man. And, when he speaks of Punishments upon the Wicked, he as evidently speaks of the Gods as *now* sending the Evils. Nay he expressly mentions, that the Recompence of Men who honoured the Gods, the Laws, and their Governors, should be their *present* safety.

But indeed, a future State cannot, in the nature of Things, by any human Law-givers be made the Sanction of their Laws; nor is it a Language used by any Law-givers to call it a Sanction. A Sanction can only imply a Penalty or Reward that may be inflicted by the Legislator, which is not the Case of a future State; and which cannot therefore be made a Sanction by them. That which cannot be inflicted cannot secure Obedience to Laws; and that which cannot secure obedience is no Sanction, or the same as no Sanction. The most that can be done in respect of a future State is, to work thereby upon the Hopes and Fears of the People; but Arguments

ments for, and Reasonings about Obedience, cannot be called the Sanction of Laws.

But however this be, Mr. *Warburton's* Argument must imply, that *all* Legislators, except *Moses*, made a Providence, in its full Extent, the Sanction of and Preface to their Laws. But *Cicero* is an Evidence that neither in this extended Sense, nor in any other, did *all* the old Legislators in general Preface their Laws with any thing at all about the Gods, or a Providence; for he instances only in *Zaleuchus*, *Charondas*, and *Plato*, as doing it; as if whatever was done of this Kind, was peculiar to them alone. And if A L L did not do it, then, if Mr. *Warburton's* Argument from the Omission of a future State proves the Divine Legation of *Moses*, the same will prove as much for such other Philosophers as omitted it.—But farther: By whatever Method of interpreting *Zaleuchus's* Preface, Mr. *Warburton* would prove that *Zaleuchus* taught a future State, by the same it may be shewed that *Moses* taught it; and from whatever Words of *Zaleuchus* Mr. *Warburton* would infer a future State, much stronger to the same Purpose may be found in *Moses's* Writings; and this is undeniable from a Comparison of Passages.

Such then is the Proof from *Zaleuchus's* Laws, that the Doctrine of a Providence in its full Extent, was made the Sanction of the Laws of the ancient Legislators.

But neither is the Preface to *Charondas's* Laws more to the Purpose; in which there is no mention at all of a future State; and all the Punishments he mentions, are evidently only temporal, affecting the safety of the Body Politic, or particular Persons. And if, moreover, the Preface to *Cicero's* Laws, or the Laws themselves be examined, it is certain there is not in them a Word, more than in either of the foregoing, where a future State, or a Providence in its full Extent, is expressly mentioned.—The Usefulness of the Notion of a Providence to

Society, is not the Question, and yet, that is the Substance of what *Cicero* says; and whatever *Cicero* has said, which may seem to imply a future State; of the sacred Tie of Oaths; of the Fear and Imitation of God; and of the Dread of Punishments; of God's being the Judge and Witness of human Actions; the very same Things, expressed at least as strongly, are to be found in *Moses's* Laws. So that hitherto no Circumstance, no Fact is produced by Mr. *Warburton*, which proves a Difference betwixt *Moses* and all other Legislators; and the Divine Legation of other Law-givers is equally proved by this Argument of Mr. *Warburton's* with that of *Moses*.

If Mr. *Warburton* says, that a future State is supposed as the Foundation and Support of Religion; the same may be said with Regard to the Religion taught by *Moses*, and proved by altogether as strong Arguments from *Moses's* Writings. But Mr. *Warburton* should have been very express in his Proof, that Religion and a future State were inseparable, because he contends that *Moses* actually kept them distinct. And by making, as he does, a future State essential to Religion in general, and contending that the *Jews* were not taught a future State, he must assert, if he is consistent, that the Heathen Legislators taught Religion, but that *Moses* gave his People no Religion at all.--But neither, without very express Proof, ought Mr. *Warburton* to suppose that the *People* of the *Jews* did not believe a future State; for Mr. *Warburton* himself has laid it down, that it was universally believed by the *People* throughout the whole Earth, and that even before Civil Policy was instituted; and their Legislator *Moses* is allowed to have believed it; and if their not being taught it by *Moses* is an Argument that they had it not, the same will prove, that the *People* to whom *Zaleuchus* and *Charondas* gave Laws had it not; since it has been shewed, they are no more express in that Doctrine

trine than *Moses*. And there is particular Reason to imagine that they did believe a future State; because it is acknowledged by Mr. *Warburton* and proveable from *Moses*, that they believed a separate Existence of the Soul, or that it survived the Body, and that with a Consciousness of what is doing upon Earth; because a future State was the national Belief, as Mr. *Warburton* allows, of all civilized Countries throughout all Antiquity; and because the *Jews* were descended of some who had this national Belief. How highly improbable therefore is it, that they should not believe what was so nearly related to what they confessedly did believe, and what their Forefathers and their Law-giver believed? --- The Truth is, it was a Doctrine universally believed, by *Jews* and *Gentiles*; and, therefore, by their respective Legislators looked upon as an acknowledged Principle, and so not necessary to be inserted into their respective Laws. Such Points as were to make the national Religion, (not what was *universally* received, and believed to be true) what was useful to the State, and so far as it was useful, both *Moses* and other Legislators admitted into the Body of their Laws; but further than that, neither he nor they concerned themselves. This perhaps is the Reason why a future State is not more particularly insisted upon by *Moses*.

But there is another Step, says Mr. *Warburton*, in the Conduct of the old Legislators, which shews what Stress they laid upon the Belief of a Providence in its full Extent; and that is, their instituting the Mysteries, to affirm and establish this Doctrine. Now if Mr. *Warburton* means that *all* the old Legislators used this particular Method, that this is not true is most indisputable. There were none at *Rome*, for instance, till after *Romulus* and *Numa*. But let it be *some* of them only. --- If the End of the Mysteries was to affirm and establish the general Doctrine

of a Providence, as Mr. *Warburton* asserts, then, according to Mr. *Warburton's* own Account, they were useless, because a Providence in its full Extent was taught in the Laws. But Mr. *Warburton* has undeniably proved their Usefulness; therefore, upon his own Principles, they were not instituted to affirm and establish the general Doctrine of a Providence. But neither were they, as he says, invented by Legislators, but by Philosophers: This is attested by *Clemens Alexandrinus*. Nor yet were the only Propagators of them in *Asia* and *Greece*, as he affirms, Kings or Law-givers; for *Herodotus* tells us, the Mysteries of *Ceres* were brought out of *Ægypt*, and taught in *Peloponnesus*, by the Daughters of *Danaus*, and *Livy* assures us, they were brought into *Italy* and propagated there by obscure private Persons. --- But granting that all who propagated these Mysteries were Legislators, yet this is far from proving that the teaching by Mysteries a future State was the Practice of all Legislators. *Zaleuchus* and *Charondas* have no more spoken about them, than about a Providence in its full Extent; so that *Moses* and They are still upon the same Footing. --- From the Invention of Mysteries, the Design of which was to explain the particular Doctrine of a Providence, as extending to Punishments or Rewards in a future Life, this Conclusion may be drawn, that the Legislators never made a future State the Sanction of their Laws, nor prefaced their Institutions with the Doctrine of a Providence in its full Extent.

To review then the Point to be proved by Mr. *Warburton*, which was, that Religion or a future State was thought necessary to the well-being of Society, by all the old Legislators. This, says he, appears from their Conduct. For first, they pretended an extraordinary Revelation from God; but that this was for Civil Purposes, not for any Religious one, notwithstanding Mr. *Warburton's* Reasonings, he himself

himself has owned in the Instances of *Pythagoras* and *Lycurgus*. Secondly, he says, a Providence in its full Extent, was the constant Sanction of their Laws. But this has been shewed not to have been the Case with any one of those he has produced ; and appears to have been done at least as much by *Moses* as by any of them. Thirdly, he asserts, the Mysteries were invented and propagated to inculcate the Belief of a future State. But neither were they all Legislators who propagated these Mysteries, nor did all Legislators inculcate the Belief of a future State. If Mr. *Warburton* argues they all taught the Existence of God, therefore Religion, therefore a future State ; either this Connection is necessary or not, if not, it does not prove his Point, if it is necessary, then this will be a conclusive Argument that *Moses* likewise taught a future State. So that *Moses* having done the same that other Legislators did, the Demonstration of his Divine Legation, from the Medium of no future State, will be equally for them and for him.

Besides the Instances produced by Mr. *Warburton* of Legislators, who are supposed to have prefaced their Laws with the Doctrine of a Providence in its full Extent, viz. *Zaleuchus*, *Charondas*, and *Cicero*, and who it has been shewed did nowhere teach it in their Laws, there are other Legislators who it is certain did no more teach it than they ; as is very evident from what is left us relating to the Laws of *Triptolemus*, *Draco*, *Solon*, or of *Minos*. But supposing it could be proved they did teach this Doctrine of a Providence in its full Extent ; before the Proposition can be asserted of all Legislators, Mr. *Warburton*, in order to make his Demonstration compleat, ought to shew the same of other Legislators, of whom we have nothing remaining but their Names. We know more of the Roman Law and Legislators than of any other Nation, except the *Jews* ; and yet neither in the Laws of *Romulus* or *Numa*,

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of which there are not a few relating to sacred Things, is there any mention of a future State, or of a Providence in its full Extent. Nor is there mention of either God, or of a Providence, in any of the Laws of the twelve Tables. *Moses* therefore is upon the same Footing with all these Legislators; and either all of them, or none, were divinely commissioned, so far as the Thing can be proved from the Medium of the Omission of a future State.

The Double Doctrine of the Philosophers considered.

AS to what Mr. *Warburton* has advanced concerning the *Double Doctrine* of the ancient *Philosophers*; He seems to be as much mistaken, as he was in his Account of the Conduct of the ancient Legislators. If we enquire what the Ancients said about the *Exoteric* and *Esoteric* Doctrines, their first Distinction was taken from the *Persons* to whom the *Philosophers* read their Lectures. *Gellius* is very express in this Point. --- The *Philosophers* had two Sorts of Scholars, those who paid them for their Instruction, and were more immediately their Disciples, and those who came promiscuously to hear them in public without paying. Now the Doctrine they taught the former at Home, was called their *Esoteric* Doctrine, their Acroatics being taught τοῖς ἑσω; what they taught in common was *Exoteric*, being delivered τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς, as appears from *Andronicus* upon *Aristotle*; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* makes *Common* and *Exoteric* the same. If the *Esoteric* Doctrines were written, they were finished Performances, treating of the Subject in the deepest and fullest Manner; and this is attested by *Plutarch* and *Gellius*.

Another Ground of Distinction was from the *Matter* of these Discourses. *Gellius* is very express that those

those Discourses that treated of Rhetoric, or of Civil Affairs, were *Exoteric*; those that treated of the profound Parts of Philosophy, *Esoteric*, And the Times of reading them were different, the latter being read, as *Gellius* assures us, in the Morning, the former at an Evening.

That this Distinction of *Exoteric* and *Esoteric* Doctrines, as being, the one, those Doctrines that were taught in Public in a more diffuse Manner; the other, those that were taught in Private to the Scholars, properly so called, which related to the profounder Parts of Philosophy, and were treated of in a fuller and more accurate Manner, is the true one, Mr. *Warburton* himself has in one Place (p. 123) granted; and it appears evidently from the Letters of *Alexander* and *Aristotle* to each other. The former of which complains, that *Aristotle*, by publishing his Acroatics, would make others, who had not been his Pupils, as wise as himself [*Alexander*] was: and the latter replies, that tho' they were published, they were as unpublished, for that they would be understood by those only who had been his Scholars, and had heard him deliver them. What now were these Acroatics, but those Depths of Knowledge wherewith *Aristotle* himself was acquainted, (and so *Plutarch* explains it) and which (let the Science be what it would, Physics or Metaphysics) *Alexander* calls a Knowledge of the *best* Things, for which he preferred *Aristotle* even to his own Father? Could then this Acroatic, this *Esoteric* Doctrine, (for it is that in which *Alexander* had been instructed by *Aristotle*, and about which he is writing) be, as Mr. *Warburton* asserts, a Non-belief of a God, or of the Gods, or of a future State; and that even contrary to what, by Mr. *Warburton*'s own Concession, all Legislators, Sages, Priests, Philosophers, publickly taught, and People throughout the whole Earth universally believed? Or could this possibly be a Doctrine committed

mitted to his young Pupil, the very reverse of which Notions was for the good of Society, and therefore inculcated? Could it be, that *Alexander* should call those Notions *best*? that he should say they were what tended to make him live well? and for which he preferred his Teacher to his Father.

But moreover; would the Fathers of the Church, who were so zealous against the Heathens, and knew the double Doctrine, and neglected no Opportunity of endeavouring to make them lightly esteemed; would they have neglected such an Opportunity of depreciating these Heathens, as they certainly had, if it had been usual with them to teach what they themselves did not believe? But so far were they from that, that they vindicate the *double Doctrine* in the Sense above explained, as covering some Doctrines with Veils which the common People could not see thro'. *Clemens* is very express in this Particular, without the least Hint of their Disbelief of what they taught. Nay, he evidently supposes, that a real believed Truth was concealed under the allegorical Veils; and defines the *double Doctrine* to be, what was spoken out clearly, and what was covered from the many. And so does Mr. *Warburton* himself elsewhere. (p. 123)

Now, who can do otherwise than look upon Mr. *Warburton's* Account of this *double Doctrine*, as if it was a Disbelief of what the Philosophers taught, as "a most licentious Paradox"? As if the Ancients understood neither their own Words nor Practices. Especially as Mr. *Warburton* has produced no one express Passage from any of the Ancients to prove their Disbelief of their Exoteric Doctrines. And tho' *Diogenes Laërtius* and *Albinus* have been particular in dividing *Plato's* Works under Heads, they never mention any such Notion as "what *Plato* taught and disbelieved; or taught and did believe". And what were called the *Secrets* of *Isocrates*, *Laërtius* informs

informs us, were not what he disbelieved, but his private Observations on the Manner and Art of speaking. And though the Philosophers might not believe the Fables or Allegories which they made use of in their Discourses, and which they used in Order to adapt their Discourses to the Apprehensions of their Hearers, that they might thereby teach them what they themselves believed, this ought no more to be treated as if they disbelieved the Truths alluded to in these Allegories, than the Use of Parables in the *New Testament* will prove the Disbelief of the Teachers of Christianity of the Doctrines they meant to inculcate by their Parables. It no more follows that Christians who do not believe the new *Jerusalem* to be built of precious Stones, or Hell to be fed with Brimstone, do not believe a future State, than that *Plato* disbelieved it, because he disbelieved what he said about *Styx* and *Acheron*.

But farther : The Doctrine of a future State was neither an *Esoteric* nor *Exoteric* in itself, but might be either according to the *Persons* to whom, and *Manner* in which it was taught. This appears from the Explication already given of those two Terms; so that, supposing Mr. *Warburton* has rightly ranged *Plato's* Pieces under their respective Heads, as to their being *Esoterical* or *Exoterical*, yet *Plato's* Belief or Disbelief, in this respect, cannot be proved from thence, since it is the Persons whom he teaches, and the Manner in which he treats his Subject, and the subject Matter, that alone denominate them one or other. Nor can some of those Books, for Instance, of Laws, or his *Phaedon*, which contain the most sublime and subtil Reasonings, not at all adapted to vulgar Capacities, be therefore properly reckoned, as Mr. *Warburton* has done, amongst the *Exotericks*. Nay, by Mr. *Warburton's* own Account, they are not *Exoterical*; for by that they confessedly

feffedly contain what *Plato* himself believed. And even though they were, yet there may be, and certainly are, if these Books are *exoterical*, *esoteric* Notions in *exoteric* Books; and it is this Mixture of both in the same Book, that probably has been a Reason why his Books have never been divided into the general Classes of *Esoterical* and *Exoterical*.

The Point which Mr. *Warburton* was to prove, was, that *Plato* did not believe a future State. This he would gather from hence, that those Treatises in which there is any mention of it, are *Exoterical*; but that they are *Exoterical* he gathers principally, if not solely, from their treating of that Doctrine; but this is first to take for granted, contrary to the Determinations of Antiquity, that their treating of a future State denominates them *Exoterical*, and then to conclude that they are *Exoterical* because they treat of a future State. But it is highly credible that the Philosophers not only taught, but believed their own Doctrines, because their Characters must otherwise have been a Complication of Hypocrisy, Dissimulation, and Dishonesty; Vices which it is undeniable they heartily detested.

But Mr. *Warburton* produces three general Reasons to prove, That the Philosophers taught what they did not believe.—The first is, that *All* maintained that every one should adhere to the Religion of his Country; and in Consequence of this, that it was lawful to deceive for the public Good; and the Proof he brings of this is from *Scævola*, *Varro*, and *Macrobius*. But first, from these Premises it cannot follow that, notwithstanding the People every where believed a future State, which Mr. *Warburton* allows, all the Philosophers disbelieved a future State. Secondly, every National Religion is a particular Form of Religion, but the Belief of a future State made no Part of a national Religion as such.

such. So that a Man might consistently maintain, that every one should adhere to the national Religion, and yet not at all disbelieve a future State, or concern himself with it, as being not national but universal. Thirdly, *Scævola* and *Varro* might very naturally think, that the Inconveniencies from not adhering to the national Religion would be more than a Ballance for the Benefit that would arise from a Change, at the same Time that they might consistently allow some particulars in the national Religion to be wrong, and yet believe the main Points of Religion in general to be true. What particulars they disapproved are not to be gather'd from such general Words, and we cannot therefore thence conclude, it was the general Doctrine of a future State that they disbelieved. But farther, we know the particular Point of which *Scævola* speaks was, that some of the national Gods had been Men.—Fourthly, *Macrobius* is much misrepresented. He says not a Word about the Philosophers believing one thing, and teaching another : Nor about Lying for the public Good. But supposes Fable to be only a Method of conveying Truth. And Mr. *Warburton* has corrupted the Text of *Macrobius* to make him speak what he wanted.

Mr. *Warburton's* second general Reason to prove, That the Philosophers taught what they did not believe, is taken from their actual Practice, in using an *Exoteric* and *Esoteric* Doctrine. But Mr. *Warburton* says here expressly, that it was the same Doctrine, only handled differently, popularly and scientifically. From hence then, no Conclusion can be made, that they did not believe their own Doctrine ; and instead of giving any direct Proof of the Point in Hand, he has added something which relates not at all to it, about the Progress of the *Greek* Philosophy.

His third Reason is, That they practised this double Doctrine, with Regard to the Doctrine of a
future

future State. But till the double Doctrine be shewed to imply, that they who used it disbelieved what they taught, even though Mr. *Warburton* could prove this Point, it will make nothing to his Purpose.

After these general Reasons, Mr. *Warburton* proceeds to Particulars, in which he does not produce one Fact to shew that *Plato*, for Instance, disbelieved what he said ; and the utmost that can be concluded from what he has produced is, that *Plato* did not believe the popular Opinions of a future State, but not that he disbelieved the Thing itself.

Mr. *Warburton* has moreover assigned five particular Reasons to prove that *Plato* did not believe a future State. The first of them is directly contradicted by the third. The Second is, That the Immortality of the Soul which *Plato* believed, was taken from Arguments not moral but natural ; consequently he only believed a separate Existence. But *Plato* in the same Books speaks of the Rewards and Punishments of another Life. Now in this Case, we have the very same Reason to imagine he believed both the separate Existence, and the State of Rewards and Punishments, as we have to imagine he believed either : And the Arguments in the first Case will at least as strongly prove these Books to be *Esoterical*, and so believed ; as those in the latter will prove them *Exoterical*, and so not believed.

The first Reason was, That the *Platonic* Philosophy was entirely *Pythagorean* ; and the third is, That it was not so, but different ; and that the Difference was an Addition to it, namely, that the Transition of the Soul was in Order to a Purgation ; for that impure Souls, by Reason of their Pollutions could not reascend to the Place from whence they came. Now this can be nothing but a moral Designation, a punishing those which were impure 'till they were made capable of being received

ceived into the Place from whence they came, or to a State of greater Happiness. But from this Addition, it can by no Means be gathered, that *Plato* did not believe a future State of Rewards and Punishments. Nor can it be said that this Transmigration or Reascent was *necessary*; for, by Mr. *Warburton's* own Representation, it depended upon their Fitness or Unfitness, which was determined only by the Morality or Immorality of Men.

Mr. *Warburton's* fourth Reason is, That *Plato* taught a future State as if he had a Mind to be believed; now, being a great Refiner, he would not have done so, had he believed it, but would have refined that, as he did the Doctrine of the Eternity of the Soul. But this supposes, not proves, that *Plato* refined whatever he believed. And the Passage Mr. *Warburton* produces from *Plato*, as confessing he talked in Jest, when he speaks of a future State of Happiness, Mr. *Warburton* has much mistaken, as there is nothing in that, or in any other Passage, of his being in Jest when he speaks about a future Happiness; but, on the contrary, he here asserts that he did constantly and uniformly affirm that good Men will be hereafter happy. Nor is there a single Word of a Resolution into the τὸ ἐν, which, however, if it were meant, would make against what Mr. *Warburton* brings it for, unless he will contradict what *Plato* undeniably asserts.— Mr. *Warburton's* last Reason is, That the Ancients, (and he instances in *Chrysippus*, *Strabo*, and *Celsus*) allow that *Plato* did not believe what he taught. Now (not to mention that Mr. *Warburton* had allowed his Opinion to be *new*) Mr. *Warburton* infers what by no Means follows, that *Chrysippus* did not think *Plato* believed a future State, because he blamed *Plato's* Judgment in his Manner of serving the Cause of Virtue by Terrors. And as to *Strabo*, his Testimony is nothing to the Purpose, because
he

he finds Fault with *Plato* as much in the particular of the Soul's Immortality, which *Plato* is acknowledged to believe, as in that of a future Judgment. And that the Passage of *Celsus* does not imply that he thought *Plato* disbelieved a future State, is evident at first Sight.

There is a very remarkable Passage in the *Gorgias*, which, in its natural and easy Interpretation, asserts clearly and fully a future State of Rewards and Punishments. But to avoid this, Mr. *Warburton* invents from it an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction with coactive Power; and then that coactive Power extended to the Power of Life and Death; and then this imaginary Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction gave Birth to a Fable, wherein no Mention is made or Hint given about Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, or Priests; and lastly, what is supposed to be in the Fable, and is not, about predicting the Day of a Criminal's Death, means, the inflicting capital Punishment, which likewise is not in the Fable, nor any thing similar to it.

The Nature of the Jewish Theocracy considered.

MR. *Warburton*, after having considered the Nature of the *Jewish Theocracy*, as a Commonwealth in which their Civil Policy and Religion were intimately united, God himself being their Legislator; proceeds to treat of the Duration of this *Theocracy*; and of an extraordinary Providence over particular Persons.

As to the first of these, Mr. *Warburton* plainly implies, that Dr. *Spencer* supposed the *Theocracy* to have ended with the Judges, or at farthest with the Captivity; and yet Dr. *Spencer* directly asserts, that it continued in some Degree to the last Times of their Policy.—As to the establishing and abrogating.

gating the *Theocracy*, Dr. *Spencer* imagines them both to have been by Degrees; which Mr. *Warburton* calls a Conceit highly absurd, as God was the Legislator. But where is the Absurdity, when God took the *Jews* immediately under his Protection at the Time he delivered them out of *Egypt*; and, at the *Horeb* Covenant, became in the fullest Manner their King? And as to the gradual Abrogation, Mr. *Warburton* himself expressly mentions a gradual Withdrawing of the extraordinary Providence from the *Jews*.

Dr. *Spencer* maintains, consistently throughout, that the *Theocracy* continued to the Time of Christ; Mr. *Warburton* asserts the same, and yet he directly asserts that the extraordinary Providence ceased after the Settlement of the *Jews*, upon their Return from their Captivity, and brings an Argument to prove it was entirely ceased at least 183 Years before Christ.

Dr. *Spencer* dated the Abatement of the *Theocracy* from the End of the Time of the Judges, and adds, that it was more impaired in *Saul* and *David's* Time. Mr. *Warburton* says, this is inconsistent with his Assertion, that it continued to the Time of Christ; as if a gradual Abatement implied a total Cessation. But then Mr. *Warburton* not only owns, that, when the People demanded a King, there was a great Abatement of the Vigour of the extraordinary Providence, but plainly asserts that it totally ceased after the Captivity; that it was long ceased before the Author of *Ecclesiasticus* lived; nay, that *a priori* it was to be known it would cease long before Christ; and yet he has laid it down as the Point he would prove, that it continued quite to the Time of Christ.

Mr. *Warburton's* second Objection against Dr. *Spencer* is, on Account of his Arguments for the Abolition of the *Theocracy*, taken from the Disuse
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of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, &c. and the despotic Power of the Kings. But Dr. *Spencer* has no Arguments for the Abolition of the *Theocracy* before Christ; and from the Disuse of *Urim* and *Thummim* in *Solomon's* Time, he only concludes it nearer to a disappearing; for he allows it to have continued above a thousand Years after that. And from the despotic Power of the Kings after *Solomon*, cannot be concluded the Abolition of the *Theocracy*, but only the Declension of it; God did not then act so immediately as the Governor of *Israel*, but the Kings acted arbitrarily by their own Will, contrary to Truth and Right.

Mr. *Warburton* has a third Objection against Dr. *Spencer*; but this arises wholly from Mr. *Warburton's* misunderstanding the Meaning of Dr. *Spencer* when he speaks of the Abrogation of God's Government; by which he evidently means, not that the *Theocracy* ceased, but that it received an Abatement and Alteration.

But besides this general extraordinary Providence, Mr. *Warburton* contends secondly, that there was a *particular Providence*, so that no Observer of the Law missed his Reward, nor any Transgressor thereof his Punishment. But, even in the Times of the Judges and of the Kings, there are in Scripture frequent, strong, and general Complaints of the Inequality of Providence towards particulars; and particular Instances thereof, even as high as the Days of *Joshua*, when it is agreed the *Theocracy* was at its full Height. — Mr. *Warburton* endeavours to account for these upon another Footing than of an unequal Providence. He says, first, that this Inequality which the *Jewish* Writers mention, was amongst their heathen Neighbours. But this cannot be, for when the *Psalmist* says he envied the Foolish, he cannot mean among the Heathen, for being, according to Mr. *Warburton*, under the
immediate

immediate Providence of God, he received the Benefit of his own Goodness, so there could be no Ground for envying their Prosperity; nor could he offend against the *Jews*, as he says he should, if, in these Circumstances, he declared an unequal Providence amongst their *Pagan* Neighbours; for whether this was so or not amongst them, the *Jews* still knew that God was their King, and that it was not so with them. The Words in *Ecclesiastes* are full and universal as possible, without any Exception against an equal particular Providence.

But Mr. *Warburton* assigns a second Solution of the Difficulty, namely, particular Men, he says, complain of Inequalities of Events, which were indeed the Effects of a most equal Providence, of Children suffering for their Parents, and Subjects for their Kings. Now Mr. *Warburton's* own Definition of an equal particular Providence is, that no Transgressor could escape Punishment, nor good Man be without Reward. How then could it be that the guilty Parents or Kings did not suffer, and that the innocent Children and Subjects did? To transfer Guilt can never be the Effect of the most equal Providence. Nor does it help the Difficulty, that by this Means Men were to be kept from Wickedness, who would not be prevailed upon by personal temporal Evil; for an equal Providence might as effectually prevent it by personal Calamities, or at least by Death; or however could not take this Method consistently with an Institution, where no Transgressor is to escape Punishment, no Observer of the Law is to miss his Reward. And whatever be the Case of human Laws, where the Necessity of Affairs sometimes obliges Men to act thus, it cannot be the Case, where the previous Point is, that Innocence, by Means of a particular Providence, is sure of a Protection, and Wickedness attended with certain Suffering. This equal Providence, Mr. *Warburton*

says, was to supply the Want of a future State. — Sad Supply! that because there was no future State taught, the Innocent should suffer on Account of the Guilty. Mr. *Warburton* says that the Fathers had no natural Claim to these extraordinary Blessings, and so upon their Violation of the Conditions upon which these Blessings were given, the extraordinary Blessings might in Equity be withdrawn from their Children. But though they had not a natural Claim, they had what was as good, a Promise; and if they themselves performed the Conditions, by Virtue of that Promise, whatever had been the Actions of the Father, they were not to miss their Reward, under an equal Providence. If they did, the Covenant between them and God was not preserved on God's Part, which cannot be supposed.

Mr. *Warburton's* third Solution of the Difficulty arising from the frequent Complaints of the Inequality of Providence, is, that the Administration of an equal Providence must needs be such as to Occasion these Observations of Inequality; that is, in plain Terms, an equal Providence *must needs* be observed to be unequal; that is cannot be administered at all. Good and ill, says Mr. *Warburton* would happen sometimes unequally by a corrupt or remiss Administration of the Laws. But, in this Case, under an equal Providence, this might easily be remedied, either by Punishment from the particular Providence, on the Offender or corrupt Magistrate, or by displacing such Magistrate, or by never admitting any that would be so corrupt. And whatever Mr. *Warburton* may suppose, as if Providence, in these Cases, did not interfere, 'till the corrupt Administration itself, when ripe for Vengeance, had been punished; unless the Interposition of Providence was very *speedy* and *common*, many Transgressors would by
their

their Death escape Punishment, and many good Men would lose the Fruits of their Goodness.

Mr. *Warburton* says, the Wicked were suffered as Scourges for the Wicked ; it may be added, that they scourged the righteous too, for this is strongly attested by the Psalmist, who is very express likewise that these Scourges were not the Heathen Neighbours.

Mr. *Warburton* says, that the particular Providence sometimes interfered with the general one of the State ; but this is only a Proof that such a particular Providence as he is speaking of, cannot be administered at all by a wise Being, because it cannot be administered without an Inconsistency, without a clashing of the particular and general Providence ; but the general Providence was certainly promised by God when he took upon himself the Government.

Lastly, Mr. *Warburton* says, that sometimes the extraordinary Providence was suspended ; that this Suspension was publicly denounced ; was a severe Punishment, by leaving the *Jews* in a disconsolate Condition, the End of which was for a national Repentance ; and hence arose their Complaints. But first, the Proofs produced for this public denouncing a Suspension, evidently make not the least mention of a particular Providence ; and, secondly, granting they prove it ; if by leaving them in a disconsolate Condition it was a severe Punishment, it was so to *all* the *Jews* ; and these Complaints must be from *all* the *Jews*, for, according to Mr. *Warburton*, none of them believed a future State. But there is not an Instance of any evil Men's Complaint of the Suspension of an extraordinary Providence ; nor had they any Reason to complain, for it was no Punishment to them, but, on the contrary, what they would most desire : For having no Hopes or Fears of a future State, they might persevere in their Wickedness and be safe. Nay, the Suspension would have been

an Encouragement to them to do so. The Good alone would have just Reason to complain, because God having engaged to give Blessings to all such, by such Suspension, they were now no longer entitled to them, and to them alone therefore it would be a severe Punishment; who suffered moreover not upon their own Account, but because of the bad; and that under an equal Providence.

But Mr. *Warburton* adds a fourth general Solution, *viz.* that these Complaints arose from the gradual withdrawing the extraordinary Providence. Now this Abatement must either mean that temporal Good and Evil were not constantly administered to the Good and Bad, which is a direct Inequality of Providence, or else that *so great* Good and Evil was not constantly dispensed, and that for five hundred Years together, but this Mr. *Warburton* has not so much as attempted to prove. And as to the Passages that Mr. *Warburton* produces, to evidence that the extraordinary Providence revived after the Return from Captivity, they evidently imply nothing more than a promised Blessing to the *Jews* nationally considered, which is very different from the equal Providence they were meant to prove.

Sir ISAAC NEWTON'S Chronology vindicated.

WHEN Mr. *Warburton* comes to consider Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology; previous to his Attempt to confute Sir *Isaac's* System, he has made two Observations.— First, concerning the Nature of his System.— Secondly, concerning the Quality of his Evidence.

First, with Regard to the Nature of the System, Mr. *Warburton* observes, that the Annals of *Ægypt*, as may be seen by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, &c. are expressly and invariably for the real Diversity of *Osiris* and *Sesofiris*. But first, *Herodotus* never pretends that

that he either copied the *Ægyptian Annals*, or learnt from them, before he comes to the Days of *Pfammittichus*; but says frequently, that he had learnt what he relates of their old Affairs upon the Credit of their Priests.— Secondly, it is certain he did not; for *Manetho*, who unquestionably wrote from such sacred Books of the *Ægyptians* as these were, refutes *Herodotus* as relating falsely the *Ægyptian Affairs*.— Thirdly, *Diodorus* and *Herodotus* differ in so many particulars, that it is impossible both should have copied from the same Annals. Not to mention now, that there are *no* Annals that fix the precise Period when either *Osiris* or *Sesoftris* lived. Mr. *Warburton* says indeed, that the History of *Ægypt*, consisted of the Authentick Records of an active and learned Priesthood. But then he himself immediately afterwards allows, that these same Historians extended back their Annals to an unreasonable length of Time; than which there needs not a fuller Concession that their Annals were Matter of Invention. And if this be so, it is surely the proper Business of a Chronologer to bring back such extended Periods to their due Date. This *extending back*, Mr. *Warburton* says, was their only Transgression against Truth; but soon after they are represented as inventing Fables, and throwing a general Confusion over the Histories of their ancient Heroes, bringing their Births even lower than their certainly recorded Worship. Now what is this, but that these authentic Annals were corrupted both backwards and forwards? And these Corruptors, Mr. *Warburton* calls Masters of their Trade, and owns that it was with peculiar Skill they *invented* a Set of Fables.—What these Annals were we may learn from *Syncellus*, who says the *Ægyptians* compiled a long and trifling Mythology of their Gods and Heroes. And Mr. *Warburton* owns the Ignorance of the *Grecians* in the *Ægyptian Affairs*; they

not living 'till long after the Times in Question, when the ancient and public Records of *Ægypt* were destroyed. And how authentic they were appears from the very great Difference in the Accounts of such Historians as write of those Times. If *Herodotus* could not copy the authentic Records, because they were destroyed, much less could they who came after him. They could only write from what Mr. *Warburton* allows to be and calls forged Records.

The second previous Observation Mr. *Warburton* makes, concerns the Quality of Sir *Isaac's* Evidence, which is, he says, chiefly the fabulous History of *Greece*, as delivered by Priests and Mythologists. — But though these may abound with Falshoods, the History of *Ægypt* does much more so, in which there is an Account of thirty thousand Years which is all false. And what tho' much of the *Grecian* History is fabulous, if a sagacious Writer can trace, from Circumstances, an Account of Times, agreeable to the Course of Nature, the Nature of Things, the sacred History, and to other the best Historians, such Evidence may fairly be admitted. And it is this Sir *Isaac* has endeavoured to do. They who relate Fables may be credited in what appears not to be Fable. If in these Enquiries no Use was to be made of the Poets and Scholiasts, Truth in Chronology would be in vain sought for, as there would remain but little Foundation for Chronology or History. But Mr. *Warburton* himself has thought these of such Authority, as to have made Use of them himself in his Account of the Mysteries. However, he has owned that the Historians of *Greece* and *Ægypt* are another Part of Sir *Isaac's* Evidence; but that Sir *Isaac* will not hear them out. As a System of chronological Truth must be taken from the whole, neither is Sir *Isaac* to take every Thing for Truth that every particular Historian advances;
and

and Mr. *Warburton* owns that they falsely improved certain Facts and Mistakes.

After these Mr. *Warburton* proceeds to invalidate Sir *Isaac's* Opinion, that *Osiris*, *Sesostris*, and *Bacchus*, were the same, which he gathered from the sameness of Particulars attributed to them all. To this Mr. *Warburton* answers, that there are many particulars in which two confessedly different Kings agree; and Instances in King *Arihur* and *William* the Conqueror. But this affects not Sir *Isaac's* Argument, whose Strength consists in this, that there was but *one Ægyptian* King that reigned over all *Ægypt*, *Æthiopia*, and *Lybia*, 'till after the Expulsion of the Shepherds, and yet all these three are said to have done so. That *Osiris* conquered and reigned over *Æthiopia* and *Lybia* is attested by *Diodorus*; that *Sesostris* conquered and reigned over *Æthiopia* and *Lybia*, and was the *first* and *only Ægyptian* that did so, is attested by *Herodotus* and *Strabo*; they are therefore the same Person. And tho' it should be granted, which yet Mr. *Warburton* has asserted without giving a single Instance in Proof, that it was an *Ægyptian* Custom to call their earlier Heroes by the Names of their earlier Gods, this alters not the Case; for if *Osiris* and *Sesostris* are different Persons, then, contrary to the express Authority of *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, not lying Mythologists, there must have been two who reigned over *Ægypt*, and conquered *Æthiopia* and *Lybia*.

Mr. *Warburton* supposes it probable, that the Name of *Osiris* was given to *Sesostris*, and then presently afterwards directly asserts the Fact; and, without proving the Difference of Persons, argues, as if the Fact were true; and then says, that Posterity by that Means confounded their Actions. But the above Argument confutes this Supposition of Mr. *Warburton*; nor does the History of the Bible admit

admit of more than one such Conqueror who was King of *Ægypt*. Nor does *Clemens Alexandrinus*, as Mr. *Warburton* asserts, allow that *Osiris* was the Progenitor of *Sesostris*, but disapproves of *Athenodorus* who had invented such a Supposition. — Mr. *Warburton* has expressly owned that what was told of *Sesostris* by *Herodotus* was corrupted, and the same Conquests given to *Osiris*; now, when they were corrupting and carrying back their Chronology 30000 Years, they were obliged to invent Names as well as Things to fill up that Time; and as no Actions could be invented greater than those of *Sesostris*, nor any new Countries to be conquered, what was more likely than that to a new invented Name, who was to be an Hero, they should attribute the Actions of their great Hero; thus making a Difference in Time, when there was none in Person. Upon this Scheme, the *Ægyptian* Chronology may be reconciled to Truth; but if *Osiris* and *Sesostris* are different Persons, it is all Confusion and Contradiction.

The Objection Mr. *Warburton* makes, as if Sir *Isaac* supposed that *Ægypt*, even so late as *Sesostris*, was only emerging from a State of Barbarity, has no Foundation; the amount of what he has implied being only that they then were recovering from being miserably harrass'd with Wars, and oppressed by Foreigners, to the Acquirement of great Dominion. And this their oppressed Condition makes it probable that the Land might be divided out by *Sesostris*, tho' it had been before parcelled out by *Joseph*.

From this Argument of Mr. *Warburton's*, founded on Supposition, he proceeds to his positive Evidence for the Difference of Persons. His first Argument is, that the Name of *Osiris* is used in Hero-worship; Hero-worship was as early as the Institution of Civil Policy; therefore *Osiris* was as early,

early. He adds, Hero-worship came after Planet-worship ; the Consequence of which is, that Planet-worship was *before* the first Institution of civil Policy.— But first, *Epiphanius* and *Eusebius* both date the Origin of this Idolatry from the Time of *Serug*, two Generations before *Tbarra*, the Father of *Abraham* ; he being the first that began the Worship of such Warriors or Governors as were before him. *Epiphanius* thinks that it was long after this that Men worshipped *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Ops*, &c. Now Planet-worship is not so much as mentioned till long after this, never 'till after the *Exodus* : So that this Idolatry is not older than *Serug's* Time, and there was no Ground for making Planet-worship previous to Hero-worship. Neither does Mr. *Warburton* produce any Authority to shew that Hero-worship was posterior to Planet-worship that lived so soon as within thirteen hundred Years after the Beginning of Idolatry ; nor yet has he attempted to prove that Planet-worship was previous to the Institution of civil Policy.

But granting these Things were proved, *all* Hero-worship did not begin with civil Policy ; for the Practice continued at least from *Abraham's* Time, when we know civil Policy was in *Ægypt*, to the *Argonautic* Expedition, which was at least seven hundred Years. Now *Osiris* might be the last of the deify'd Heroes ; and certainly *Vulcan*, *Helius*, *Agathodæmon* and *Saturn* were before him, nay, were eight hundred sixty-six Years before him, if we follow *Manetho*. Where then is Mr. *Warburton's* Demonstration, by this Argument, that *Osiris* is as old as is supposed by common Chronologers.

Mr. *Warburton's* next Demonstration of the high Antiquity of *Osiris* is, that he was, and that none else was worshipped over all *Ægypt*. It is owned *Herodotus* asserts this ; but Mr. *Warburton's* Reason for this is, because he was the common Benefactor of
all

all *Ægypt* in the Invention of Corn, Wine, and civil Policy. But all that will follow is, that he reigned over all *Ægypt*. He conquered *Æthiopia*, *Lybia*, &c. and lived in the Age when Deification was the Fashion, and therefore as particular Heroes had their particular Worship, he might in the same Manner be worshipped by all *Ægypt*.

Mr. *Warburton*'s third Argument is, that the Calf or Ox was an *Ægyptian* Symbol ; that this Symbol was as old as *Moses*'s Time, (this appears from *Aaron*'s Golden Calf ;) that this was the peculiar Symbol of *Osiris* ; therefore *Osiris* was as old as *Moses*'s Time. But the very Point to be proved is, that *Osiris* liv'd as early as *Moses*, and that these Symbols were peculiar to *Osiris*, nor could denote any other Benefactor, prior to *Osiris* ; but this Mr. *Warburton* has not done. In such a Point, it is not to be taken for granted, that the Thing represented by the Symbol is as old as the Symbol. *Vossius* and several of the Ancients, think it represented *Joseph* : And that such a Benefactor as *Osiris* (supposing him to be the same with *Sesostris*) should be worshipped under that Symbol is very reasonable to be believed.

A fourth Argument of Mr. *Warburton*'s is, from a Concession of Sir *Isaac*'s, that the Inventor of Agriculture was worshipped in the Calf or Ox, and Agriculture was before *Joseph*'s Time, therefore *Osiris* was before *Joseph*, at least seven hundred Years before *Sesostris* or *Sesac*. But here too Mr. *Warburton* takes it for granted, that the Calf was so peculiarly the Symbol of *Osiris*, that it was never applied to any other. The Case seems to be this ; that some great Benefactor, who first taught the Way of cultivating the Lands usually overflowed by the *Nile*, was celebrated under the Symbol of the Calf or Ox, the Name of which resembles the Word *Osiris* ; and that, long after this, the same Word became appropriated to the great Conqueror of *Ægypt*,

Ægypt, who taught the conquered Nations to plow with Oxen. So that tho' Agriculture might have been seven hundred Years in the World, yet *Sesofstris* might be worshipped in the Symbol of an Ox, and have that Symbol appropriated to him, which had before been applied to others.

But, upon Examination, we shall find that no particular Time is agreed upon for the Time of *Osiris*. If he be placed in the Time of the Gods, that is confessedly so fabulous a Part of the *Ægyptian* Chronology, running out five thousand Years beyond the Flood, that he must be looked on as a fictitious Person. We must then look for him in those Times, when it was customary in that Country to deify deceased Benefactors; and if there can be found amongst these Benefactors, a Person who did such Things as are ascribed to the God, the God and Mortal must be the same Person; and the God must be placed according as History fixes the Time of the Mortal, however it may deviate from the Accounts of common Chronologers; especially in this Case, as we know it to have been a Practice to corrupt the *Ægyptian* Annals; and it is certain, *Osiris* did not live where the *Ægyptians* have placed him. And if we may bring him from that high Antiquity, which is unquestionably false, to the Times of *Joseph* or *Joshua*, why not to the Time of *Solomon*, if Circumstances do then agree with him? the Difficulty is to find out the Hero; and that Sir *Isaac* has done, by shewing the Number of Circumstances that have been attributed to *Osiris* belong likewise to *Sesofstris*. — That *Osiris* cannot be so ancient as Mr. *Warburton* places him, the Pillar at *Nysa* in *Arabia* would shew, if it be at all of Authority. For first, *Osiris*, mentioned on it, did not then live before *Arabia* had been conquered by some *Ægyptian* King, but none such lived before *Sesofstris*.
Secondly,

Secondly, What is written thereon is said to be in sacred Letters, which was not a Sort of writing in *Osiris's* Days, if placed so early as is done by Mr. *Warburton*. And thirdly, It is written upon it, that *Isis*, Wife of *Osiris*, was Queen of *all* the Country, which must mean at least Queen of *all Egypt*, if not both that and *Arabia*; which therefore could not be at soonest 'till the Expulsion of the Shepherds by *Misphragmuthosis*.

But farther; if with Mr. *Warburton* we look for *Osiris* before *Joseph*, this introduces Confusion upon what is already tolerably clear; for the Discovery that the Year consisted of three hundred sixty-five Days, Mr. *Warburton* owns was about the Time of *Joshua*, but it is attested by the Pillar of *Nysa* in *Arabia*, that *Osiris* was born at the very Time, consequently long after *Joseph*, and even after the Death of *Moses*. The Method, then, of fixing this uncertain Period, when *Osiris* or *Bacchus* lived, must be by tracing out the Person to whom the Circumstances belong; and this Sir *Isaac* has shewed to be the Person of *Sesofstris*.

Besides this Argument of Sir *Isaac's* for the Sameness of Person under the Names of *Osiris* and *Sesofstris*, from the Likeness of Circumstances in both, he argues again, that the Genealogies of the Gods and Heroes, agree with the Times of *Sesofstris*. This, says Mr. *Warburton*, is a fallacious Conclusion, because every Age in the *Pagan* World swarmed with the Progeny of the Gods; therefore no Argument can be drawn for the Time of the Progenitor from the Birth of the Offspring. But, whatever were Men's Motives for their pretending to be the Offspring of the Gods, it is certain, nor does Mr. *Warburton* deny it, that the Persons worshipped by the *Pagan* World were *real* Persons who had Offspring, such as *Jupiter* in *Crete*; and if real Persons, their Time may be gathered from the
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Time of their Sons; and especially if other Circumstances relating to the Father, conspire with the Time preceding that of the Sons; which Sir *Isaac* has shewed to be the Case with Regard to the present Instance. For not only the Genealogies of the Gods and Heroes coincide with the Time of *Sesostris*, but all the Actions reported of one of those Gods, *Bacchus*, agree with the Time of *Sesostris*, and the Sons of *Bacchus* were *Argonauts*, and the *Argonautic* Expedition was one Generation later than *Sesostris*. What confirms the Truth of this Argument of Sir *Isaac's* is, that the old Apologists, who understood these Things, used it against the *Pagans*, and the *Pagans* never answered it by asserting, as they might otherwise have done, that the Gods were not real Persons.

Mr. *Warburton* proceeds next to the Consequences he thinks deducible from Sir *Isaac's* Scheme; which are either those Sir *Isaac* would not mention, or those he admitted. With Regard to the first of these, Mr. *Warburton* mentions some Consequences, which, he says, are admitted by *Diodorus*; the Authority Sir *Isaac* had admitted in other Respects, and therefore should admit in this. But because the Authority is admitted in one Case, it does not follow it must be admitted in other Cases; now what Sir *Isaac* has admitted are built upon various other Authority, as well as upon *Diodorus's*; and the same Authority may in other Cases be rejected, when asserting Things manifestly untrue.— A Consequence omitted by Sir *Isaac* and asserted by Mr. *Warburton* to be particularly authentic in *Diodorus*, is, That *Isis* invented Agriculture; for this he expressly tells us, says Mr. *Warburton*, from the Pillar at *Nysa* in *Arabia*; but this it is plain *Diodorus* never saw, but had only from Report; nor does he at all imply that he himself believed what was said about it. And it is apparently false,

However,

However *Diodorus*, or any one else, may relate the Story, that *Isis* invented Agriculture.

Mr. *Warburton* then proceeds to the Consequences, he says, are acknowledged by Sir *Isaac*. The first is, That Instruments of War were the Invention of the Age of *Sesostris*. But Sir *Isaac* says no such Thing, whether in *Ægypt* or in *Greece*; nay, expressly asserts they were found out long before *Sesostris's* Time; so that, whatever Consequences may follow from the Supposition, they are not chargeable upon Sir *Isaac*. — He does indeed mention, that the *Ægyptians* and *Africans* fought with Clubs; and this in the Time of *Sesostris*, for it does not appear that the *Ægyptians* invaded the *Africans* before his Time; and this is a Fact (whatever was the Reason of the Fact) attested by *Hyginus* and *Pliny*; but this does not imply they had no Arms, as Mr. *Warburton* asserts, but that these were a Sort of Arms they were used to. And there are several Instances in History, of Nations fighting with Clubs, even much later than *Sesostris's* Time, and when other Weapons were unquestionably in Use. *Herodotus* says, the *Lybians* made Use of them in *Xerxes's* Army. Nor does it follow that, because Iron or Copper was worked in *Crete* or *Lemnos*, that it was carried into *Ægypt*, or was in such Plenty there, as to suffice for all military Weapons. Mr. *Warburton* adds, that, according to Sir *Isaac*, the very Tools employed in making Arms, were invented but the Generation before the *Trojan* War. Now it is attested, indeed, by *Pliny*, that *Vulcan* found out the Smith's Hammer, Tongs, Leaver and Anvil, in *Cyprus*; but this is nothing to Mr. *Warburton's* Purpose, because Arms might be made without these Tools; and it is agreed by all, that they were invented before *Vulcan's* Days. But still, says Mr. *Warburton*, *Vulcan* must have been the Inventor of Arms, because he was deify'd, and this

this must have been for some *Invention*; but *Plat^o* says, he was deify'd by the *Ægyptians*, for shewing them the Art of making warlike and husbandry Tools of *Iron*; which was, in the Time of the *Trojan War*, so valuable a Commodity, as to be reckoned amongst the Treasures that a Man had; and *Vulcan's* Improvement was therefore a very important one. It was for this his teaching the *Ægyptians* the Art of working in *Iron*, and making thereof Armour, Tools for War and Husbandry, and his great Skill in making them for Strength as well as ornamental and useful, that he was deify'd, or, as Sir *Isaac* says, for *supplying* them with Armour.

The second Consequence said by Mr. *Warburton* to be acknowledged by Sir *Isaac* is, That *Ægypt*, was *first* supplied with Horses by *Sesostris's* Conquest of *Lybia*; which is directly contrary to Scripture. But what Sir *Isaac* says expressly is, That that Circumstance was the Occasion that *Ægypt* so abounded with Horses, as to enable the *Ægyptians* to supply *Solomon*. Neither is Sir *Isaac*, as Mr. *Warburton* asserts, in this Place speaking of the Origin of Things in *Ægypt*; nor is it at all necessary we should understand him so, with Regard to Horses, because he had been doing so before, with Regard to some Things, and does so afterwards with Regard to others. Mr. *Warburton* owns, indeed, that Sir *Isaac* asserts elsewhere, That *Ægypt* abounded with Horses much earlier; and Sir *Isaac* is not used to contradict himself; Nay, he gives a Proof from the Bible, that several Years before *Sesostris*, and therefore before the Conquest of *Lybia*, *Ægypt* abounded with Horses. — Mr. *Warburton* says, that the Horses wherewith *Pharaoh* abounded at the *Exodus*, is an Evidence against Sir *Isaac*: but however much they abounded then, it makes nothing against Sir *Isaac*, who only says,

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That the Conquest of *Lybia* enabled the *Ægyptians* to supply *Solomon* with so many. Nay, it appears that at that Time *Ægypt* did not abound with Horses, for *Pharaoh* pursued the *Israelites* with only six hundred Chariots, even all the Chariots of *Ægypt*; for so it should undoubtedly be translated; it being very improper to say six hundred Chariots, and all the Chariots of *Ægypt*, the former being included in the latter; and it cannot mean the Chariots of all the *Ægyptians*, besides those of *Pharaoh*, for the Shortness of Time would not permit them to be got together. Neither does their being *chosen* Chariots imply, that they were selected out of an indefinite Number, but only that they were choice and good ones, fit for Service.

The third Consequence said by Mr. *Warburton* to be acknowledged by Sir *Isaac* is, That Animal Food was not in Use 'till about the Time of *Se-sostris*. But Sir *Isaac* says nothing about it, but only of the Introduction of Luxury, of a sumptuous and voluptuous Way of Life. — But supposing Sir *Isaac* had said so, Mr. *Warburton* has not confuted the Opinion. His Arguments are from *Pharaoh's* Baker's Dream and *Joseph's* Interpretation, which, if it prove any thing about eating Flesh, it proves that the *Ægyptians* were *Anthropophagi*: and as for the Word *Bake-meats*, it means in the Original, no more than whatever Food the Baker prepar'd. — A second Argument Mr. *Warburton* draws from the *Israelites* sitting by their Flesh-pots whilst in *Ægypt*. But does it follow because a different People from the *Ægyptians* eat Flesh, that therefore the *Ægyptians*, who hated Shepherds, did so? — But his third Reason is his principal one; That when *Joseph* entertained his Brethren, the common Food was Animal-food; so that the eating that, was not what gave the *Ægyptians* their Aver-

Aversion to Shepherds. There was, indeed, Animal Food prepared for the Shepherds ; but the Reason given in the Bible why the *Ægyptians* sat apart from them is, *Because* the *Ægyptians* might not eat Bread with the *Hebrews*, for that is an Abomination to the *Ægyptians*. Nor can we imagine the polite *Ægyptians* would abominate Strangers, but from a perfect Abhorrence of their Food. Flesh-eating was probably introduced by the Shepherds. Now, the Time of their invading *Ægypt*, was not 'till after the *Exodus*. If the Invasion was before *Joseph's* Time, in *Joseph's* Time it was over, for that *Pharaoh* was not a Shepherd King is plain, because of the then Abomination of Shepherds ; and allowing for the reputed Time of the Shepherds, and the Time of the Wars by which they were expelled, they must have come in within twenty Years of the Flood, which is incredible ; nor can it be, because the first King of the Shepherds built *Abaris*, fortified it, and put into it a Garison of 240000 Men. Nor could it be after *Joseph* and before the Birth of *Moses*, because they must have come through the Land of *Goshen* ; but there is no mention of any such Disturbance given to the Children of *Israel* there. And the *Pharaoh* in *Moses's* Time, was plainly not a Shepherd. But the Directions in Scripture are so evident, that it is certain this Invasion was not before the *Exodus* ; so that the Abomination of the *Ægyptians* could not arise from any Invasion ; nor could it proceed from a Diversity of Religion ; for, besides that we know not what was the Religion of *Ægypt* at that Time, we know *Abraham* and the Patriarchs sacrificed, and made Leagues with the People, and eat Flesh together as Friends. But it is very plain from Scripture, that in *Moses's* Time the *Ægyptians* were not Flesh-eaters ; and *Diodorus* assures us, That at first the *Ægyptians*

were sustained by Roots and Herbs. How long this continued, does not appear ; but probably as was said, 'till Flesh-eating was introduced by the Shepherds,

A fourth Consequence said by Mr. *Warburton* to be acknowledged is, That the Land of *Ægypt* was first divided into Property by *Sesostris* ; whereas it was before divided by *Joseph*. But Sir *Isaac* does not say so ; all he has allowed is, that *Sesostris* divided the Land by Measure. Now, what tho' *Joseph* had divided the Land five hundred or six hundred Years before ; yet, considering the Revolutions there had been in the Conquests of the Shepherds, and their Expulsion, the Overthrow of *Pharaoh's* Army, the Departure of the Children of *Israel*, and the greater Quantity of Land by being in *Sesostris's* Time Lords of all *Ægypt*, notwithstanding what *Joseph* did in this Sort, *Sesostris* may be allowed to have divided the Land, or to parcel it out, in different Proportions, and in another Manner. Mr. *Warburton* asserts, That the Division of the Land by *Sesostris* was only a dividing *Ægypt* into square Fields by Cross Canals, to drain the Marshes ; but this is directly against the Testimony of *Herodotus*, who says, That every one had a Portion of Land allotted to him, and that the Design of this Division was, thereby to regulate the Taxes to be levied.

The fifth Consequence Sir *Isaac* is said to acknowledge is, That Letters were unknown in *Ægypt* 'till the Time of *David*. This, tho' said by Mr. *Warburton* to be the fifth, is indeed the first own'd by Sir *Isaac*. And for its Truth, it may be left safely with the Evidence Sir *Isaac* has produced. The Inventor of Letters in *Ægypt* is known to be *Thoth*, who was Secretary to *Osiris* ; and it not being yet proved, that he was a different Person from *Sesostris*, Letters were found out in *Ægypt* in the
Time

Time of *Sesostris*, that is, in the Days of the Gods, *Sesostris* being deify'd by the Name of *Osiris*.

The sixth Consequence is, Sir *Isaac* had said, That *Ægypt* was thinly peopled before the Birth of *Moses*: for that *Pharaoh* said of the *Israelites* before the Birth of *Moses*, that they were more and mightier than the *Ægyptians*. To this Mr. *Warburton* replies, that when *Moses* began his Mission, *Ægypt* was so populous, as to keep in Subjection six hundred thousand Men. — But one Master may keep in Subjection many Slaves. And considering the Prolificness of the *Ægyptian* Women, tho' *Ægypt* was thinly peopled before the Birth of *Moses*, it might be much otherwise above fourscore Years afterwards, when *Moses* led out the *Israelites*. The Interpretation Mr. *Warburton* gives to the Words *more* and *mightier* is very extraordinary, as if they implied more prolific and more healthy. But he gives not a single Passage to confirm such a Sense.

These are the Consequences from which Mr. *Warburton* concludes Sir *Isaac's* System to be incredible, impossible, and contrary to Scripture; (for tho' Mr. *Warburton* asserts it to be contrary to Astronomy, he has not given a Word in Proof of his Assertion) four of which are none of Sir *Isaac's*; the other two are agreeable, the one to History, the other to the Bible. But Mr. *Warburton* produces two Instances whence the Incredibility may appear, from Sir *Isaac's* Accounts of the State of War, during the Period he is treating of, and the State of Architecture. — But of neither of these does Sir *Isaac* give any Account. And where is the Incredibility of what Sir *Isaac* does allow? that, in the Time of *Sesostris*, the *Ægyptians* and *Africans* fought with Clubs, which is a Fact attested by *Hyginus* and *Pliny*; or that *Vulcan* at the same Time, in another Place, excelled in making (not invented) Armour, and assisted *Sesostris* with Armour, and

358, *The WORKS of the LEARNED*, Art. 12
 other Weapons of War.—And as to the State of
 Architecture, Sir *Isaac* makes no other mention of
 any thing relating to it, but that in the Time of
Sesoftris was found out the Method of Building
 with square Stones. And all Mr. *Warburton* pro-
 duces to confute this is, that *Amenophis* built *Mem-*
phis, &c. But he lived the Third from *Sesoftris*, and
 long after Building with squares Stone had been
 found out. Mr. *Warburton* produces a Passage from
Homer, to shew, that the Palace of *Paris*, in the
 Time of the *Trojan* War, was very magnificent.
 But so little is said of it, that nothing can be con-
 cluded from it of the Excellency of the Architecture;
 besides that, he lived at least 100 Years after *Se-*
sosstris's Time.

ARTICLE XIII.

Continuation of the Life of David, &c.

THIS Work has been the Subject of several
 Articles. The last is in our History for *June*
 1743: which we closed with a Solution of this Que-
 stion, Why *David*, if he believed *Mephibosheth* in-
 nocent, [of the Charge which his traiterous Servant
Ziba preferred against him to that Monarch] did
 not bring the Matter to a fair Trial?

Our Author having settled that Point, and after-
 wards proved, as he imagines, that the 37th Psalm
 was written for *Mephibosheth's* Consolation under *Ziba's*
 Calumny, proceeds with the Memoirs of his Hero.

He just mentions his shutting up in perpetual
 Confinement the ten Concubines, whom he left to
 keep House, when he fled from *Jerusalem* on the
 breaking out of *Absalom's* Conspiracy, and whom
 that young Villain had debauched on taking Posses-
 sion of his Father's Palace.

This

This done, *David's* first Care, he tells us, was to look after *Sheba*, and crush a Rebellion that he was fomenting, in its Infancy: To which Purpose, finding this a fit Occasion to rid himself of *Joab's* insupportable Insolence, he commanded *Amasa* (whose Credit with the Soldiery could only counterbalance that of *Joab*) to assemble an Army with all possible Dispatch, and pursue him.

Amasa went immediately about it; but not being so expeditious in the Execution as *David* desired, and the Monarch apprehending that his Delay might suffer *Sheba's* Rebellion to grow up into something worse than *Abshalom's*, he ordered *Abishai* to take his own Life-Guard, and such other Forces as were at hand, and instantly pursue him. *Abishai* did as he was commanded, and went after *Sheba*. When he and his Men had reached the great Stone at *Gibeon*, about two Leagues Northward from *Jerusalem*, *Amasa* met them with such Forces as he had gathered, and put himself at the Head of the whole Army. *Joab* seeing him there, was filled with Rage; and coming up to him in a seemingly respectful Manner, as others did, to salute him, he seized him by the Beard, and stabbed him into the Belly, with such a furious Thrust, that his Bowels gushed out, and he fell to the Ground. When he had perpetrated this execrable Murder, he assumed *Amasa's* Place, with as much Calmness as if nothing had happen'd, and, with his Brother *Abishai*, pursued after *Sheba*.

This Incendiary had run through all the Tribes with extraordinary Speed, exciting them to a Revolt wherever he went; but at length, finding himself hotly pursued, he took Shelter in *Abel-maacbah*, a City between *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, North of *Damascus*. Here he was joined and supported by all the *Berites*. *Joab* immediately laid Siege to the Place; and from the Accounts we have of his dig-

ging a Trench around it, and battering the Walls, Critics have, as our Author observes, fairly concluded, “ That the Science of besieging Towns
 “ with Lines of Circumvallation and Contravalla-
 “ tion, and battering Engines, was much older than
 “ any Mention left us of this Practice in the Hi-
 “ story of the Heathen World.”

As *Joab* pressed the Siege with all Earnestness and Dispatch, a wise Woman, from within, called out, over the Walls, desiring him to come near and hearken to her. When he had signified to her that he attended, she, in a very becoming Manner, reproved him for endeavouring to destroy a City that was a Mother in *Israel*, and the Inheritance of the Lord. He answered, that was not his Intention, and that he fought nothing but to have *Sheba* the Rebel, who had shelter’d himself there, delivered up to him. This being reported by the Woman to the Inhabitants, they cut off the Head of *Sheba*, and threw it over the Battlements; on the Sight of which *Joab* raised the Siege, and returned to *David* at *Jerusalem* : * Who, upon his thus defeating the Design of *Sheba*, was, at least apparently, reconciled to him, and reinstated him in the supreme Command over the Army.

Here ended *Abshalom*’s Rebellion, and *Sheba*’s, which rose from the Ruins of it : But our Author, judging that the Contest between the Tribes, which occasioned it, † was not yet entirely laid, imagines *David*, at this Time, to have written and published the 133d Psalm, absolutely to compose it. || “ It is
 “ one of the shortest of all his Works, and consists
 “ but of four Verses : yet, short as it is, contains
 “ an Exhortation to Unity, beginning in the Prince,

* 2 Sam. xx. 16, &c.

† 2 Sam. xix. 41, 42, &c.

|| The Reader will do well to open his Bible in this Place, before he reads the following Illustration of it,

“ and diffused through the People, illustrated by
 “ two Images, the most apt and beautiful that ever
 “ were imagined. — Kingdoms are considered as
 “ Bodies-Politic, of which the King is the Head,
 “ and the People, in their several Ranks and Or-
 “ ders, the Parts and Members. A Spirit of Union
 “ beginning upon the Prince, whose Person is sa-
 “ cred, is like Oil poured upon the Head of *Aaron*,
 “ which naturally descends, and spreads itself over
 “ all the Parts of the Body, diffusing Beauty and
 “ Fragrancy over the whole, reaching even to the
 “ Skirts of the Garment. Oil is, without Que-
 “ stion, the finest Emblem of Union that ever
 “ was conceived ! It is a Substance consisting of
 “ very small Parts, which yet, by their mutual
 “ Adhesion, constitute one uniform, well united,
 “ and useful Body. The sacred Oil carries the
 “ Idea, and the Advantage of Union yet farther ;
 “ which, being extracted from various Spices, yet
 “ made up one well cohering and more valuable
 “ Compound.

“ The next Image carries the Exhortation to
 “ Union, and the Advantages of it, yet higher.

“ *Hermon* was the general Name of one Moun-
 “ tain, comprehending many lesser and lower Hills,
 “ under the Surround of a greater. Union in any
 “ Nation is the Gift of God ; and therefore Unity
 “ among Brethren, beginning from the King, is
 “ like the Dew of Heaven, which falling first upon
 “ the higher Summit of *Hermon*, (refreshing and
 “ enriching wherever it falls) naturally descends to
 “ *Sion*, a lower ; and thence even to the humble
 “ Valleys.

“ *Sion* was the Centre of Union to all the Tribes :
 “ There God himself had promised his People
 “ Rest, and Peace from their Enemies ; which,
 “ however, were of little Value, without Union
 “ and Harmony among themselves.”

I could

I could not omit this Instance of the Luxuriancy of our Author's Fancy, of which indeed the Reader will meet with frequent Examples throughout this Work. What a fine Amusement would a Commentary be on the whole Bible in this Strain ! A delicious Garden, abounding with all the Flowers of a warm and fertile Imagination !

We are now come to the fifteenth Chapter of *David's History*. It begins with the Mention of a Famine, wherewith the Land of *Judea* was visited, on Account of *Saul's* Cruelty in slaying the *Gibeonites*.

This Judgment was of three Years Continuance. *David* was not at first apprised of the Cause of it, thinking it might be the Effect only of the Land's being neglected during the late Commotions ; and what made him the less solicitous about it, was " his
 " having, in the true Spirit of a provident Ruler,
 " erected Granaries and Store-Houses, for Provi-
 " sions of all Kinds, in all Parts of his Domini-
 " ons ; and, by that Means, made ample Provision
 " for the Sustenance of his People, in any Exigence
 " that should arise." Accordingly, whatever Remedies he might have sought for from natural Causes, from private and public Prayers to Almighty God, he made no Application in an extraordinary Way, till the third Year ; but being then convinced the Visitation was judicial, he applied himself to the sacred Oracle, to know the Reason of the Almighty's inflicting it ; and was answered, *That it was for Saul, and his bloody House, because he slew the Gibeonites.*

This Matter is related in the 21st Chapter of *Samuel*, with the Simplicity that obtains every where in the sacred Writings. Our Author, transferring the Story into this Work, decorates it in his usual Manner. And as Mr. *Chubb* has, it seems, from this Incident in *David's History*, taken Occasion to as-
 fault

fault his Character,* not only as an Hero, but as a Man of Honour and common Honesty, imputing the Death of *Saul's* Descendants, procured by the *Gibeonites*, not to any Command of God, but to a *plausible Pretext* of *David's*, pretending such a Command, to get rid of *Saul's* Posterity, his Rivals for Empire; blasting *David*, at once, with the complicated Imputation of the basest of Liars, Hypocrites, and Murderers, and this at the very Time when the Hand of God was heavy upon him and his People, as a Murderer of that Family, whose Murderers he detested and destroyed! Our Author has undertaken to refute these groundless Aspersions; and while he is exposing the Calumniator's Prejudices, not only exculpates the Accused, but casts a Lustre upon his Virtue.

Mr. *Chubb*, in his Reasoning upon the Point, says,

It is inconsistent with Equity, and with God's own Declarations, to punish one Man, and much more a whole Nation, for the Faults of another: Therefore the History, which, as this does, represents him so doing, is incredible: consequently God's supposed Answer, upon *David's* Inquiry concerning the Cause of the Famine, was a Forgery of *David's*.

Our Author readily grants Mr. *Chubb* his general Principle, but disallows his Application of it, in the Case before us. He supposes the *Gibeonites* were destroyed by *Saul*, that he might bestow their Lands and Substance on his Relations, whom he was zealous to enrich and promote; and that these who were now given up to the Revenge of that People, were Descendants of those Kinsmen of *Saul*, and might justly suffer for the Crime of their Fathers, because they retained those Possessions which their

* In a Pamphlet, on Account of the Opposition to Dr. *Rundle*, &c. p. 27, &c.

Fathers so unjustly and barbarously acquired, by the Destruction of the rightful Owners.

Our Author has here wrought up, in several Pages, a notable Defence of *David*, and of Providence, which seems, by his Representation, to be more concerned in the Affairs of that Prince than of all the World beside; but from whence he drew his Materials I cannot easily find; I have searched the Old Testament for them in vain; he might there perhaps meet with two or three Hints, and the slenderest may become great Things under his Improvement; give but his Fancy the least Spring, and he soars above all the lower Bounds of Reason. He closes this Business of the *Gibeonites* with some very pious Reflections.

“ How just (says he) are the Judgments of God!
 “ If *Saul* destroyed an innocent People to make
 “ Provision for the Offspring of a Concubine, and
 “ the Offspring of a Daughter,* which she bare
 “ in Consequence of his own Faith to *David* vio-
 “ lated; could any thing be more equal, than that
 “ this very Issue, chief Agents of his Cruelty, should
 “ now be called for, to make Atonement for that
 “ Guilt!

“ Let others find their Account, and found their
 “ Fame, in reviling the divine Dispensations re-
 “ corded in the Scriptures; be it ever my Glory to
 “ reverence them! to reverence them in the Silence
 “ of my Closet, and to publish that Reverence to

* I have, as above said, searched the Scripture-Story of the *Gibeonites*, to find out the Authorities on which our Author grounds this Charge against *Saul* and his Sons; but in vain. And yet, as he has thought fit to interest Heaven in the Affair, he should have been very clear in the Point; as thereon depends, according to his System, the Reputation of the divine Oracle, as well as of his Hero. *Chubb's* Accusation holds good, for any thing he has done to invalidate it, if he does not prove that *Saul* destroyed the *Gibeonites* for the Sake of these his Descendants, and that these were voluntary Partners in his Crime.

“ the

“ the World,† (when the Revilings of others provoked me to it) without any View to the Wages either of Vanity or Wealth !”

In the sixteenth Chapter of this Work our Author takes notice of *David's* entering into new Wars with *Philistia*, and offers a Conjecture concerning the Cause of them. When these Expeditions were happily ended, and he was in perfect Peace, both at Home and Abroad, and in a fair Prospect of continuing so for the rest of his Life, then, our Author supposes, he revised and published the last Edition of the 18th Psalm, which contains a Summary of God's signal Mercies and Deliverances wrought for him, “ express'd with such an overflowing of Gratitude for the divine Goodness to him, as infinitely surpasses all other Compositions, of all other Men, upon his Head.”

Our Author hopes, the critical Reader will not deem it beneath his Curiosity, to see a few Passages in this Psalm, published in *David's* Youth, compared with the Corrections of his more advanced Years: The first, as they are found in the *Book of Psalms*; and the last, as they are published in the 22d Chapter of the *Second Book of Samuel*. Here they follow, as our Author has set them together, with his own judicious Observations.

† There is something singularly pretty in this Contrast, *reverencing in the Silence of the Closet*, and *publishing* that Reverence to the World.

PSALMS.

Ver. 1. *I will love thee, O Lord, my Strength ;*
 2. *The Lord is my Rock, and my Fortress, and my Deliverer ; my God, my Strength, in whom I will trust ; my Buckler, and the Horn of my Salvation ; my high Tower.* 5. *The Sorrows of Death compassed me, and the Floods of the ungodly Men made me afraid.*

SAMUEL.

Ver. 2. *The Lord is my Rock, and my Fortress, and my Deliverer ;* 3. *The God of my Rock, in him will I trust ; he is my Shield, and the Horn of my Salvation, my high Tower, and my Refuge, and my Saviour.* Thou savest me from Violence.* 5. *When the Waves of Death compassed me, the Floods of the ungodly Men made me afraid.*

Every Eye will discern to what infinite Advantage this Expression, *the Sorrows of Death*, is changed into *the Waves of Death*. Nothing can be a finer Emblem of an Host of Men, in their several Ranks, than the Waves of the Sea, succeeding one another in their natural Order. And when we consider them pressing forward to the Destruction of their Adversaries, they may very properly be termed *Waves of Death*.

PSALMS.

Ver. 7. *Then the Earth shook and trembled, the Foundations also of the Hills moved, and were shaken, because he was wroth.*

SAMUEL.

Ver. 8. *Then the Earth shook and trembled, the Foundations of Heaven moved and shook, because he was wroth.*

The Hills, shaking from the Foundation at the Wrath of God, is a noble Idea ; but the Founda-

* As his Deliverances were now multiplied, his Gratitude seems, as it were, exaggerated, and makes new Efforts to exert itself, when every Idea, that would express it, seems exhausted.

tions of Heaven shaking at it, is a much nobler ! The Thought too is strictly just ; for as the Eye of the Spectator is tossed to-and-fro, in an Earthquake, the Heavens must also appear to him to be agitated in the same Manner.

Although *David's* main Purpose in publishing these divine Hymns, setting them to Music, and singing them in the Worship of God, was, to publish to the whole World his endless Gratitude to the Deity, for the various and wonderful Mercies bestowed on him ; yet had he a farther, and, if possible, a nobler Purpose, in this Conduct ; that was, to disperse true Religion throughout every Part of his Dominions, to inspire the Hearts of his People with a true and lively Sense of Gratitude to God, their Benefactor, Protector, and Saviour, as well as his.

This is our Author's Fancy ; and he is led thereby to take Notice of the separate and joint Power of Music and Poetry, towards softening, civilizing, and mending the Manners of Mankind. Music alone has been said to have produced surprising Effects this Way ; but what may not be hoped from it, when it is built upon, and supported by, the noblest, the sublimest, the most heavenly Strains of divine Poetry, by which the World was ever delighted, informed, or amended ! And such, beyond all Controversy, or Pretence of a rational Doubt, are the sacred Hymns and Psalms of *David*.

PINDAR, as our Author proceeds, places this Elogium in the Front of *Hiero's* Character : That he took a noble Delight in the most exquisite Strokes and Performances of Poetry and Music. Could he have added to this, that he had a Mastery over all Mortals, in the Composition of both, and crowned all by the Application of both to their noblest Ends and Uses ; the inspiring of true Piety and Virtue into the Hearts of Men, and celebrating the Praises
of

of God, recounting the Works and Wonders of his Providence, and infinite Mercies to Mankind, how nobly had his Character been compleated ! How had it been, at once, exalted and unrivalled ! The thinking Reader will easily satisfy himself, that this Glory, which *Pindar* could not confer upon *Hiero*, *David* hath, most unselfishly, and without the least Taint or View of Vanity, secured to himself.

After *David's* last Revival and Edition of the 18th Psalm, now recited, the sacred Historian gives us to understand, that the last Words which he spake, and committed to Writing, as a Prophet, are those which immediately follow this Psalm, in the *Second Book of Samuel*, Chap. xxiii. Our Author has transcribed these Words ; reflecting with Rapture on the Benefit the Faithful receive by their having been committed to Writing : because, forsooth, *David* therein expressly declares, *That the Spirit of God spake by him.*

In setting so high a Value on *David's* Testimony in Behalf of his own Inspiration, our Author, it seems, judges quite differently from our Saviour ; who says, *If I bear Witness of myself, my Witness is not true : ** that is, *not to be regarded.* Surely *David's* Evidence, in this Case, ought not to be preferred to that of our Lord's, in one of a like Nature.

In the seventeenth Chapter our Author has given us the Story of *David's* numbering the People, and of the Plague which ensued. There are some Circumstances in the Scripture-Narrative of this Incident, in the 24th Chapter of the *Second Book of Samuel*, which, at first View, seem inconsistent with Reason and sound Philosophy : Tho', to be sure, the Commentators are able to reconcile them.

In the first Verse we have this odd Expression : *And again the Anger of the Lord was kindled against*

* *John v. 31.*

Israel and Judah. We have just before an Account of a grievous Famine, inflicted on these People, for the Behaviour of *Saul*, their late Governor, towards the *Gibeonites*. How they became Criminals in that Affair, so as to be justly punishable, our Author has pretended to shew, as afore-mentioned; and I leave the Reader to his Information. But what the Guilt was, which moved the Deity, in Anger, to stir up *David* to the numbering of them, he has not pretended to tell us; tho' he acquaints us with the Reason of their suffering by a Pestilence after their Numeration. † God's

† The Reason, as our Author assigns it, is this: " God had given the *Israelites* a Command, by *Moses*, *Exod.* xxx. that when they took the Sum of the People, after their Number, every Man so numbered, from twenty Years old and upwards, should pay half a Shekel to the Sanctuary, as a Ransom for his Soul to God, under the Penalty of a Plague, to ensue the Neglect of such Payment: and, accordingly, that Payment was made, when they were numbered, *Exod.* xxxviii. 24.

" *David*, now (probably from an Impulse of Vanity) desirous to know the Strength of his Kingdom, ordered the Sum of the People to be taken, *without ordering the Mosaic Ransom to be paid*: for which Reason a Plague ensued, which destroyed seventy thousand of them in the Space of three Days: An Instance no where to be parallell'd in History."

I observe, the Scripture takes no Notice of the Plague's falling upon these unhappy Victims, because of their not paying the half Shekel above-mentioned. The Sin, which incurr'd the Pestilence, is there attributed to *David* only. And yet it must be owned, the Language of the Text seems to imply, that he was moved to the Commission of it, to occasion the Nation's Punishment for some other Offence. However, by no Means, I think, do the Words denote that to be it which our Author has fancied. For suppose the half Shekel a Man, ought to have been paid, and was not; who but the Governors were chargeable with that Omission? It was they

A a

who

God's moving *David* to say, *Go number Israel and Judah*, when his doing so was displeasing to the Lord, and a Ground of his Wrath against *David*, and the People also; the giving *David* his Choice

who were commanded to levy it; and if they did not require it, the People might think it unnecessary. Besides, the numbering occasioned the Transgression our Author assigns, (for they were under no Obligation to pay the half Shekel, but in consequence of their being numbered); whereas it seems to follow from the Scripture Account, that their being numbered was the Effect of God's Anger being kindled against them for somewhat preceding.

Our Author says, "That neither *David's* nor the *Sandrim's* Neglect in exacting this Tribute, could excuse the People from paying it, when an express Law of God enjoined it." But I can find no Law of God enjoining it, as a perpetual Duty. It was commanded on a particular Occasion, and the Money arising thereby appointed to a particular Use. The Thing was then done, as ordered, and the Money levied was applied to the Purpose for which it was then needful. But there seemed to be nothing in the Affair, of a moral Nature; and accordingly we find the *Israelites* afterwards numbered, even in *Moses's* Time, without any Assessment, (*Numb. xxvi.*) Our Author indeed pretends, that tho' an Assessment is not expressly mentioned in this Numeration, yet that there was one is sufficiently implied in these Words, (*Ver. 4.*) Take the Sum of the People, from twenty Years old and upward, as the Lord commanded *Moses* and the Children of *Israel*, which went forth out of the Land of *Egypt*. But I cannot think any Assessment implied here: such Assessment was no way essential to the numbering the People; it seemed to be only a positive temporary Injunction, to serve a particular End*; and so the People might well think they were under no Obligation of paying it on any other Numeration than that whereto it was annexed by a divine Precept, or when the Occasion which was to be answered thereby

* To be expended for the Service of the Tabernacle, which was then appointed to be erected. *Exod. xxx. 16.*

Choice of three Judgments, and inflicting that on his unhappy Subjects which he preferred, sparing himself, the chief Agent in the Crime, and perversely bent on the Commission of it, against the earnest

thereby did not exist. And this appears to be warranted by *David's* Behaviour in the Case: For it is not to be imagined that he, who was so zealous of the Law, could have been guilty of so dangerous a Breach of it, if he had apprehended this Omission to have been of that Nature. But our Author, whose Imagination surpasses all other his great Talents, rather than curb this darling Faculty, where there is any Scope for it, is contented to degrade even his Hero into an impious Time-server, and make him knowingly venture the divine Displeasure, to avoid disgusting the wickedest of his Subjects. In short, he will have him to be sensible it was his Duty, in case he numbered the People, to tax them as *Moses* was ordered to do: But, "To speak freely upon the Point, he can conceive but one Reason, why *David* now neglected to enjoin the Payment of this Tribute: He was the great Patron of Religion, and Protector of the Church of God; and (if such a Spirit then reigned in his Nation, as now reigneth in ours) such a Sum of Money, as this Tax would have brought into the Sanctuary, could not fail to have raised an high Outcry of Bigotry and Priestcraft against him: and so he suffered the People to be plagued, rather than let the Priesthood be enriched." A very singular Paragraph truly! *David* was the great Patron of Religion, and Protector of the Church of God: so he most irreligiously violated a divine Law, the Breach of which was threaten'd with a Plague on the Nation, and suffered the Laity to withhold the Dues of the Church! And to what did this holy Man here sacrifice his Conscience? A Dread of his Subjects Outcry against him of Bigotry and Priestcraft. But how could he fear any thing of this kind? If the Payment of half a Shekel was a divine Ordinance, did not the People know it to be so? Our Author won't say, that any of the *Jews* had the least Doubt of the Authority of the Law. They did not suppose the Institutions of it to be the Inventions of *Moses*, or the

earnest Persuasions of his faithful Counsellors; the Angel stretching his Hand on *Jerusalem* to destroy it, and visibly manifesting himself near the Threshing-floor of *Araunab*: These, I say, are Circumstances in this Narrative, that may startle a Reader's Understanding, till it is reconciled to them, by such Writings as *Scripture vindicated, Revelation examined with Candour*, and the like. A Mind thoroughly

Priests. They could not with the least Consistency therefore exclaim against the Priests requiring their Obedience to one of its most awful Injunctions. If *David* had any Reason to apprehend the Clamour of his Subjects, it was for numbering them at all, when he had no Warrant, either from Heaven or the Circumstances of the Nation, for so doing; and not for letting the Priests take what was their Due, in case there had been a Reason for numbering the People. We have, it is true, in this Nation, a great many, who receive not the Gospel, as a Revelation, and who, therefore, pay no Regard to the Ministers of it, as such. These cannot, consistently with their Principles, look on the Revenues those Gentlemen receive, as their Due. But were there in the *New Testament* a Precept, enjoining the Magistrate, when he proclaimed a Fast, to levy of each Master of a Family Two Shillings and Sixpence, to be expended on some Ecclesiastical Service, which God had as plainly appointed; would those, who considered this *New Testament* as a divine Revelation, make the least Scruple of paying such a Tax, on such an Occasion? No, certainly. If such a Proclamation were issued without a sufficient Reason, they might justly complain of being laid under a groundless Necessity of paying a Tax, or hazarding their Lives; but if the former was justifiable, Christians could never pretend to murmur at the other. And if our Author will speak fairly, he must own, that *David's* Apprehension of his Subjects clamouring (if he had any) proceeded rather from a Consciousness of his numbering them when he had no Order from the Oracle for doing so, than from any infidel or sacrilegious Temper of the Nation. But our Author will excuse, if he cannot exculpate, *David*, at the Expence of any other Reputation.

roughly tinctured with these, and aided by a truly orthodox Faith, which they are very apt to inspire, will be far from rejecting this, or other Relations of the same Kind, because they do not square with his philosophical or metaphysical Notions.

There are three Points of Importance our Author notes, which are clear from this numbering of the People by *David*. I shall transcribe only the second.

It appears, he says, from the Accounts left us of this Matter, that all the Cities of the *Canaanite* Coast, and particularly *Zidon*, and the strong Hold of *Tyre*, were under the Dominion of his Hero. But this, he apprehends, could only be the ancient *Tyre*, or *Palatyrus*; inasmuch as *Hiram*, who lived in Friendship both with *David* and *Solomon*, was King of the other *Tyre*: which, from a Letter of his to *Solomon*, quoted by *Josephus*, appears to have been situate in an Island, (*Antiq. Lib. VIII. Ch. 2.*) But this, however, no way infers the King of that *Tyre* not to have been tributary both to *David* and *Solomon*; as it is probable he was, from his calling both *David* and *Solomon* his Lord, and himself and People *Solomon's* Servants, 2 *Chron. ii. 14, 15.* Or, if he were not, *David's* Dominion over *Zidon* alone will go a great Way towards accounting for those immense Treasures he amassed for building the Temple; inasmuch as *Zidon* is allowed to have been, from the remotest Antiquity, one of the greatest Marts of the World, which engrossed a great Share of its Wealth, and into which, and *Tyre*, the Veins of all its richest Mines were naturally drained. And that *Zidon* was early renowned for Wealth and Magnificence, sufficiently appears from its being stiled, even as early as the Days of *Joshua*, *Zidon the Great*.

David's Preparations to build the Temple are the Subject of the eighteenth Chapter of this Work.

The Tabernacle which *Moses* erected in the Wilderness, with the Altar for the Burnt-offering, were now in the High-place of *Gibeon*; and thither *David* should ordinarily have resorted, to sacrifice: But inasmuch as God had expressly commanded him to erect an Altar in the Threshing-floor of *Araunah*, and on the very Spot, over which the avenging Angel was arrested, and God appeased,* he naturally, our Author says, concluded that this was the appointed Place of Atonement, so solemnly set apart for Sacrifice: and therefore he feared to resort to *Gibeon* any more, for any Purpose of Religion.† And there is no Doubt but he was confirmed in his Reasoning upon this Point, by reflecting, that this was the Place appointed by God himself for the sacrificing of *Isaac*; and where the Faith of his Father *Abraham* was so amazingly tried, so gloriously accepted, and so nobly rewarded.

All these concurrent Considerations sufficiently pointed out this, as the Place of that Temple, which was to be the Glory of the whole Earth. And as *David* accordingly set himself, from that Moment, to prepare Materials for it of all Sors, so there is no Doubt, our Author imagines, but God inspired him at this Time with a Plan of the whole Work, with all its Parts, Dimensions, and Utensils: all which he himself expressly assures us, the Lord made him understand in Writing by his Hand upon him. ||

That the Architecture of this Temple was of divine Original, our Author is fully satisfied by the above-cited Passage; and he is confirmed in his Persuasion by finding in *Vilalpandus*, that the Ro-

* See the History, in the last Chapter of the Second Book of *Samuel*; and our Author's Account of the Affair, in the 17th Chapter of this Work.

† 1 *Chron.* xxi. 30.

|| 1 *Chron.* xxviii. 19.

man, at least the Greek, Architecture is derived from this, as from its Fountain: and, in his humble Opinion, even an Infidel may easily believe these to be of divine Original, “ inasmuch as they are (at least the latter is) found perfect in the earliest Models: nor hath the utmost Reach of human Wisdom, Invention, and Industry, been ever able (although often endeavouring it) to improve or alter it, but to Disadvantage, throughout the Course of so many Ages.” We leave this Reasoning to the Reader’s Discretion, who will or will not be determined thereby, according to the Measure of his Understanding, or his Knowledge in the History of Architecture. Thus far, however, we must agree with our Author, “ That if *David* had not been a compleat Master of the whole Design, he could not have directed the hewing of the Stones, nor adjusted the exact Weight of all the Utensils, as he certainly did with great Care.”

1 Chron. xxviii. 12, &c.

This Chapter ends with mentioning the Materials *David* prepared and made ready for this famed Edifice, his exhorting of *Solomon* to undertake and prosecute the building of it, and his Care to engage the great Men of the Realm to assist him in the Completion thereof. In order to this, he laid his particular Commands singly and apart upon each of them; and afterwards convening them in one Body, he publicly exhorted them all to the same Purpose, in an Oration, which seems to our Author by far the noblest in the World. But, before he proceeds to consider that Performance, he begs the Reader’s Attention to some Points of great Importance antecedent to it. These are comprised in the nineteenth Chapter, which is, *A Dissertation upon the immense Treasures left by DAVID for building the Temple.*

There is no one Point, our Author there observes, relating to the sacred Writings, in which the Critics

have been so greatly divided, as this of the Treasures left by *David*; some thinking them incredibly immense, and others doubling them; some suspecting numeral Errors in the Text, and others sinking the Talent almost to nothing, in order to guard against the Supposition of any such Errors; whilst others seem to value themselves upon having discovered new Veins of Wealth, from whence much greater Treasures might have been derived.

In the Midst of this Uncertainty, there are some Particulars, which our Author thinks to be incontestable.

1st, That the *Hebrews* never varied their Weights and Measures, at least before the Captivity: and, therefore, *David's* Talent was the same as that of *Moses*.

2^{dly}, The *Hebrew* Talent was of a considerable Weight.

What *Moses's* Talent was, is known to a Demonstration, from the Account of the first Capitation in the Wilderness, *Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26.* in which six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty Men, being taxed at half a Shekel an Head, raised a Sum of an hundred Talents of Silver, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen Shekels: from whence it follows, that one Talent contained 3000 Shekels; and that it could not contain less in the Days of *Amaziah* is pretty evident, from the Account left us in *2 Chro. xxv. 6.* of his having hired an hundred thousand Men, out of *Israel*, for an hundred Talents of Silver. And the History of *Gebazi*, *Hezekiah*, and many other Passages of the *Old Testament*, plainly prove the Talent to have been of a considerable Weight.

3^{dly}, That *David* left immense Treasures for building the Temple, appears from the vast Number of Artificers maintained for that Service for eleven Years: four in preparing the Materials, and seven in putting them together.

HIRAM'S

HIRAM's Servants, hired at the Rate of 20,000 Measures of Wheat, as many of Barley, as many Baths of Wine, and as many of Oil, Year by Year; 30,000 Hewers of Wood in *Lebanon* (10,000 of them in constant Employment); 70,000 Bearers of Burdens, and 80,000 Hewers of large and costly Stones in the Mountains, and 3600 Overseers of these Workmen; besides 550 *which bare Rule over the People that wrought in the Work, i. e.* which oversaw the Execution of it; and 24,000 *Levites*, appointed to set it forward. Add to all these, the Workers of precious Stones, of Gold, Silver, and Metals of all Kinds. What vast Sums of Money must have circulated through *Jerusalem*, from the Wages of so many Men every Year! And how prodigious must the Quantity of Gold and Silver, left by *David*, be, when this Treasure (for this only can account for it) enabled *Solomon* to give Gold and Silver in that City, as Stones; 2 *Chron.* i. 15. Add to this, the immense Quantity of solid Gold, which covered the entire Inside of the Porch, the *Holy*, the *Holy of Holies*, and the upper Chambers; the Ark, the Mercy-Seat, the Cherubims, the Altar of Incense, and ten Tables of Shew-Bread; the ten Candlesticks, and Utensils of all Kinds, such as Dishes, Cups, &c. which *Josephus* computes to have been no less than 440,000 of that Metal; besides many Utensils expressly said in the Scriptures to be of Gold, as Snuffers, Lamps, Tongs, and Spoons, not taken Notice of by that Historian; and besides all those of Silver, which were 1,340,000.

4^{thly}, It is certain, the sacred Writers were very exact in the Accounts left of the Quantities of Money contributed towards this Work; when they descend even to the Number of Drachms contributed above the Number of Talents. Nor is there any Ground for suspecting the least Error to have crept into the Text relating to this Affair.

5thly, It is evident, that the Accounts left us of the earlier Ages of the World, sufficiently evince them to have abounded with Gold. And hence, perhaps, arose the Fable of the *Golden Age*. Hence we may be induced to credit the Histories of *Midas* and *Cræsus*, whose Treasures of Gold, to say nothing of Silver, were infinite; of *Saluces* and *Esboses*, Kings of *Colchis*, who had entire Chambers of Gold, Beams, and Posts, and Pillars of Silver of the ancient *Arabs*, those of *Arabia Felix* particularly, whose Gold was purest, bartering Gold for Iron; of the *Ethiopians* binding their Slaves in golden Fetters; of the Riches of *Sardanapalus*, which, according to *Ctesias's* Account of them, are almost incredible. “The Mines of the Earth
“were then Virgin, and many Rivers gloried in
“golden Sands, whose Wealth hath long since been
“exhausted; and therefore we are not to judge of
“the Wealth of those Ages by our own present
“Poverty.”

As to the Sources from whence *David* might be able to gather so vast a Wealth as the Scripture assigns him, our Author enumerates these four; Husbandry, War, Trade, Tribute.

It is easy to conceive, that *David* must have abounded in the natural Riches arising from the first of these, if we consider the Advantage of his Country remarkably fruitful, and blessed, beyond all others, in a rich Soil, and happy Climate, bordering and extended upon a Coast where the Trade and Wealth of the whole World then centered. And that he neglected no Means of improving these Advantages, may be collected from the Account left us, (1 *Chron.* xxvii. 25, &c.) of the proper and distinct Officers appointed by him, over his Treasures and Store-houses of all Sorts.

The next Source of *David's* Wealth was War. The Eastern Nations abounded in Ornaments of Gold

Gold when they went to Battle. This is apparent from the eighth Chapter of *Judges*, where we find the *Midianites* not only wore Ear-rings of Gold, but likewise adorned with Chains of that Metal the Necks of their Camels. We learn also, from *Numb. xxxi.* that, when *Israel* first conquered the *Midianites*, the Captains of Thousands, and of Hundreds, brought an Oblation to God, of the Spoil of the Enemy, Jewels of Gold, Chains and Bracelets, Rings, Ear-rings, and Tablets, making in the whole 16,750 Shekels. Now, if the *Israelite* Men of War, who went to Battle, offered only the five hundredth Part of their Share of Gold taken from *Midian*, as they offered only the five hundredth Part of the Beeves, Asses, and Sheep, the Treasure of Gold then taken in that Country amounted, in the Whole, to a very great Sum; for but half of the Whole fell to their Share. And if this one Victory brought in so great a Treasure, we may easily imagine what immense Wealth must be raised from *David's* many Victories over Nations much richer. And when we learn from his History, that the *Syrians*, whom he subdued, and slew in such vast Multitudes, wore Shields of Gold, can we doubt, whether their Quivers, Handles of their Swords, &c. were not of the same Metal? He was victorious, in about twenty Battles, over the richest Enemies in the World, from the *Red Sea* to beyond *Mount Libanus*, and from the *Euphrates* to the *Mediterranean Sea*. To what an incredible Sum must the personal Spoils, the rich Arms, the military Chests, and the Gods of Gold and Silver, (always carried to Battle with them) of such infinite Multitudes, amount! And, in all Probability, the Spoils of their Cities and Countries, to a much greater: To say nothing of the Spoils taken from the *Philistines*, *Amalekites*, and others, even before he came to the Crown.

The next Source of *David's* Wealth was Trade. *Solomon* made no Conquests, yet he had two Ports on the *Red Sea*, *Eloth* and *Ezion-Geber*, in the Land of *Edom*. *David* conquered *Edom*, about the Time that he subdued the *Syrians*. Consequently, those Ports, and perhaps others, were in his Hands. And therefore we may easily credit *Eupolemus*,* when he tells us, that *David* sent Ships with Miners to *Urphe*, an Island in the *Red Sea*, which had Mines of Gold: A Relation which is sufficiently confirmed by the Account left us, of *David's* giving three thousand Talents of Gold, his own private Property, pure Gold of *Ophir*, (which doubtless is the *Urphe* of *Eupolemus*) to the building of the Temple. Nor is it any way probable, that he had no Share in the Trade of the *Mediterranean*, when such a Length of its richest Trading-coast was in his own Hands. But what Riches forever he might obtain by such a Trade as we are here describing, which we must suppose to be very considerable, and possibly immense, his Tribute was undoubtedly so.

Solomon had no Wars, made no Acquisitions of Territory, except that of the City of *Gerar*, conquered for him, and bestowed upon him by *Pharaoh*; and therefore *David's* tributary Revenues will be best estimated by those of *Solomon*. And what those were may be estimated, first, from the Accounts left us of his Expences; secondly, from the particular Mention made of the Revenues paid to him annually.

As to the first of these: If we suppose the Expences of *David's* and *Solomon's* Tables to have been exactly the same, (which most certainly were not) and estimate only the Surplus Expences of *Solomon*, in his Buildings, his Cities, his Houses, and

* *Euseb. Prepar. Lib. ix.*

their Furniture, his Women, his Horses and Chariots, we shall soon be satisfied to what an immense Sum they must amount; and, consequently, what an immense Sum *David* must have saved and amassed, by his OEconomy, in a Course of so many Years.

In the next Place, his Tributes may be estimated from the Richness and Extent of the Dominions subject to him: *Edom*, all the *Arabias* and *Syrias*, both on this and the other Side of *Euphrates*, and the *Palestine* Coast.

The Mines of *Punon* or *Phinon*, in *Edom*, as those of *Palestine*, hinted at by *Moses*, *Deut. xxxiii* were famed even to the Days of the Christian Martyrs condemned to them. The *Arabians*, *Pliny* calls the richest Nations.* As to the *Syrians*, their Riches will best be estimated by the golden Shields of *Haddadezer's* Army. Here then are Funds of Wealth, sufficient for any Demand. And yet certainly *David* had others, as appears from the Accounts of *Solomon's* annual Income, found in *1 Kings x. 14, 15. viz. 666 Talents of Gold, besides that he had of the Merchant-men, and of the Traffic of the Spice-merchants, and of all the Kings of Arabia, and of the Governors of the Country.*

That *David*, then, had Sources enough for all the Treasure he left behind him, is out of all Doubt.

If it be objected, that this Expence is superior to the Work, our Author judges that no one will think so, who considers what *Vilalpandus*, *Lami*, and such as agree with these, have demonstrated of the Vastness of it.

In the next Place, we are not to imagine, that all the Stone and Wood, hewn for that Purpose were expended on it; for we are expressly told, that *Solomon made Cedars to be in Jerusalem as the Sy-*

* Lib. vi. Cap. 29.

camores, that are in the Vales for Abundance. And we may well be assured, that none but the very Choice of both Kinds were used in the Temple. And these, perhaps, were not more than one half of the Whole.*

But there are two Points, we are told, of the last Importance, towards reconciling and determining this Controversy, which none of the Critics, that our Author has met with, have ever considered.

The first is, that, in all their Computations of Expence, no Allowance has been made for the precious Stones, with which the Inside of the Temple was adorned, (such as Diamonds, Rubies, &c.) ; and which, if they then bore any Proportion to the Price they bear now, will sufficiently account for any Expence that can well be imagined. And, therefore, if we should agree with *Brerewood*, that *David* left Treasure enough to build the Walls of the Body of the Temple of solid Silver, and roof it with Gold ; yet when we consider what great Portions of the one, and immense Masses of the other, might go to the Purchase of one single precious Stone, we cannot take upon us to pronounce any Sum more than sufficient for such an Expence.

The next Point is, that, in Fact, all the Treasure, left by *David*, was not expended upon the building of the Temple. This appears from *1 Kings vii. 51.* where it is expressly said, *so was ended all the Work that King Solomon made for the House of the Lord : and Solomon brought in the Things which David his Father had dedicated ; even the Silver and the Gold,*

* Our Author has an admirable Faculty at converting every thing he pleases into Arguments for his System. No one, till taught by him, would have imagined the Text quoted in this Paragraph signified any thing more, than that *Jerusalem* was so enrich'd under *Solomon's* Government, that the Inhabitants were able to employ Cedar, for all those Purposes which used to be served by cheaper and more ordinary Timber.

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and the Vessels, did he put among the Treasures of
the House of the Lord.

It seems plain, that when *David* is said to have prepared for the House of the Lord an hundred thousand Talents of Gold, and a thousand thousand Talents of Silver, &c. the whole of his Treasure, whether in Coin, or otherwise, is then recounted : † and that there remained a Surplusage of that Provision, to be deposited in the Treasures of the Temple, after the Work was finished, is evident from the Passage last quoted.

In the twentieth Chapter of this Work we have the History of *Adonijah's* setting up as Heir-Apparent to the Throne, and asserting his Claim to it; and of *David's* causing *Solomon* to be thereupon anointed King.

David was now become very ancient and infirm; which Circumstances of his Father encouraged *Adonijah* to this precipitate Step, that was little, if any thing, better than a Rebellion. The Scripture-Account of this Transaction is in the first Chapter of the Second Book of *Kings*; and as it is there preceded by a short Narrative concerning *Abishag* the *Shunamite*, so in this Work it follows our Author's Reflections on that Affair. The Observations he every where makes on the Incidents of his Hero's Life, are the most entertaining Parts of his Performace: If any of them are trifling, if any of them are erroneous, yet all of them are invested with such a solemn Air of Authority as awes the superficial Reader, and makes the judicious merry. Those which follow are an Instance in Verification of this Remark.

The inspired Penman says, *David* being so frigid, that no Cloaths could keep him warm, his Servants advised the procuring him a fair Virgin,

† Contrary to all the Usage of Speech.

to stand before him, and to lie in his Bosom, that he might get Heat: Which thing was accordingly done. Whether these Servants were the Lords of his Majesty's Bed-chamber, or in what Quality they minister'd to him, the Scripture does not determine; but our Author will have them to be his Physicians. And to whom indeed can such judicious Advice be more properly attributed, than to Persons of that Faculty: "The natural Warmth of a young, healthful, human Body, being (as Physicians observe) best fitted for cherishing the vital Heat of such a one as *David* was, both in Kind and Degree." Our sage Author proceeds,

"If it be asked, how the Beauty of the Person to be employed to this Purpose was concerned in *David's* Health? He answers, That the Beauty here required is, evidently, Beauty of Complexion: Which, as it indicates the Health and Temperament of the Body, might be of Importance in this Case. Possibly too, as *David* was very beautiful himself, they sought for some Person of Complexion and Constitution likest to his own; and, of consequence, best suited and most congenial to it. *And therefore the Cavillers at this Part of David's Conduct are as far from being able Naturalists in this Respect, as they are Casuists in many others.* And I will be bold to say, that if *David* had taken any other Method of recovering and keeping up the vital Flame, by Wine, for Instance, high Diets, Cordials, or any other imaginable Way; they would have found all these Methods at least as exceptionable as this. *Abishag the Shunamite* was found, and thought proper for this Purpose; and was, accordingly, admitted into the Number of *David's* Wives; but not known by him. Concubinage was not then deemed criminal: *And it will, I hope, be thought no very wild Paradox, to venture to sur-*
mise,

“ wife, that a modest Man can, with less Reluctance,
 “ suffer his Infirmities to be relieved by a Wife, than
 “ by any other Mortal. And therefore I greatly
 “ fear, that those Gentlemen who quarrel with
 “ David upon this Score, are little refined, either in
 “ that Virtue, or the more elegant Decencies of Life.”

As for Adonijah's Attempt on the Throne, our Author relates in what Manner it was defeated, and how it precipitated Solomon's Advancement to the Royal Dignity: whose Inauguration he has described, with the Compliments paid to his Father on that Occasion.

The twenty-first Chapter is a short Digression, by way of Essay, on the Character of *Bathsheba*.

This is a most entertaining Example of that Quality which I have just been ascribing to our Author's Reflections on the more remarkable Persons and Events that occur in this History.

He takes Notice, that almost every Commentator is severe in his Censure of this Lady: some treating her as a leud Woman; others, as swayed by Ambition in her Commerce with *David*; and all, as an Hypocrite, in mourning for her Husband.

On the other hand, our Author finds her, after this, the Wife of a great and wise King; the Mother of a great and wise King; and remotely the Mother even of the MESSIAH. He finds her honoured with the Friendship and Esteem of her Husband, in the Decline of Life, when Passion could make no Part of their Commerce; honoured, in a very distinguished manner, by her great and wise Son, when he was in full Possession of the supreme Power. He finds the Father charging his Son to listen to her wise Monitions; and he finds Precepts, said to be her's,† perfectly tallying with those Monitions. Is it possible, he then asks himself, that

† Those to *Lemuel*.

such a Father, and such a Son, could be deceived in the Character of that Woman, for a Course of Years? Or, if they were, could the Eye of Providence mistake her?

He then revolv'd her Character from the Beginning; and could never find any thing in it, on which to ground the least Suspicion of Levity, of Hypocrisy, or Ambition. This he makes good, by what we may call a negative Induction; which, stript of its pompous Clothing, amounts to this:

It was no Fault in her to be fair; it was no Crime, in a hot Country, and in the Evening, to bathe herself, tho' even in her Garden. It does not appear, in the least, that she was seduced by Lust or Ambition to violate her Duty to God and her Husband; but that she was ravish'd by *David*. So soon as he dismissed her, *she sanctified herself from her Pollution, and returned to her House*: Which Proceeding is express'd in Scripture, by Words denoting Diligence and Solitude. Now, suppose the Phrase to imply no more than an Anxiety to be purified from the legal Pollution of her Commerce with the King, yet it indicates a Sense and Abhorrence of Guilt. It is not improbable that *David* would have liked her abiding with him after the Fact, and she might have found Excuses for so doing; but she left him, and returned to her own House. When she perceived herself pregnant, she did not lay hold on that fair Occasion to tempt *David* to continue or repeat the Action; but seems carefully to have kept out of his Sight, and only sent to let him know her Condition: A Conduct, carrying in it the sure Marks of injured Innocence.

It is agreed on all Hands, that she was no way privy to her Husband's Murder; she might think he fell by the common Fate of War: There is no Ground then for accusing her of Dissimulation in bemoaning him.

When

When the Time for Mourning was expired, *David* made her his Wife. Had he deemed her a light Woman, he would hardly have placed her in his Palace, or would have placed her there under a lower Character. His distinguishing her in this Manner looks like a Desire of repairing, to the utmost of his Power, the Injury he had done her. There is no Mention of his taking any Wife after her (except *Abishag*, who was not taken to any of the Purposes of Marriage); nor does it appear that he had any Child, by any other Woman, after this. When God sent *Nathan* to rebuke *David* for his Guilt, no Share of it was charged on *Bathsheba*. Now when two Persons were Partners in a Crime, it was not the Way of the Prophets to reprove one Criminal, and leave the other uncensured: An Example of which we have in the History of *Abab* and *Jezebel*. But, in the Case before us, *Nathan* was so far from blaming *Bathsheba*, that he rather places her in a Light of Innocence, by likening her, in his Parable, to a *little Lamb*.

But what completes the Character of *Bathsheba*, is her own Advice to her Son, and his Encomium upon her (*Prov. xxxi.*) The first shews her a wise Woman; the second an excellent Wife, in every Circumstance of that Character.

Upon the Whole, our Author concludes, that, far from villifying this favourite Sultana, her Son (*Solomon*) may be justified, in concluding of her, as he does, *Ver. 29, &c. of the 31st of Proverbs, Many Daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all. Favour is deceitful, and Beauty is vain; but a Woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised: Give her of the Fruit of her Hands, and let her own Works praise her in the Gates.*

Whether *David's* Resentment of *Adonijah's* Attempt on the Crown, or the seeing *Solomon* seated thereon, and God's Promises to him, and his own

to *Bathsheba*, so happily fulfilled; or whether it was the exterior vital Warmth of his new Bed-fellow, that roused him from his Languor, and gave a new Spring to his Blood, our Author is uncertain: But this we are sure of, That he recovered his Strength and Spirits to such a Degree, before he died, as to be able to call an Assembly of his People, and get his Election of *Solomon* to the Throne confirmed in it. Of this Convention, of *David's* Speech to it, of his Thanksgiving to God at the same Time, and of his last Instructions to his Successor, our Author gives an Account in his twenty-second Chapter.

In the twenty-third we have a Description of the Temple-Service, as it was celebrated in its ordinary Magnificence: A Magnificence, our Author says, which, even according to his imperfect Account of it, the greatest Princes of our World are not now able to equal, upon the greatest Occasions! And as to that of the great Festivals, not all the Princes of *Europe*, combined, were able to come up to it. — *Probatum est.*

The twenty-fourth Chapter is a Discussion of *David's* Character, with regard to his Polygamy, and the Murder of *Uriah*. There has been so much Apology and Panegyric in the Course of this Work, that one would think there could not be the least need of any thing further in either Way, with respect to the Subject of it. But so great is the Writer's Liberality, in Reference to these Matters, that they are here again as plentifully bestowed, as if this were the only Donation. However, I own myself so thoroughly satiated, that I have not the least Appetite to this superfluous Provision: Nay, I am so surfeited, that I chuse not to hand a Taste of it to my Readers, but refer them to our Author himself. It is for this Reason I also pass over the twenty-fifth Chapter, in which *David's* Character is considered

dered in Friendship and in Enmity, so far as it is an Encomium; taking Notice only of an Excuse we there meet with for *David's* dying Charge to his Son in Relation to *Shimei*.

This Man's provoking Behaviour to *David* is related, 2 *Sam.* xvi. 5, &c. His Submission afterwards, and his Pardon thereupon, confirmed by an Oath, are recorded in the 19th Chapter of the same Book. But notwithstanding *David* had pronounced his Acquittal, in a most public solemn Manner, and we hear nothing of *Shimei* ever offending him afterwards, yet, in his dying Moments, he devotes him to Destruction, and enjoins his Successor to revenge the Affront that had been offered so long before, that seems to have been heartily repented of, that would allow of much Extenuation, and which, perhaps, had been compensated by future Services.

Is this a Temper of Mind becoming a Man after God's own Heart? It would hardly be thought so by the Generality of Christians. But let us see what Turn our skilful Author has given to this unseemly Affair.

First, he will have it evident, that *David* was not acted, therein, by a Spirit of REVENGE; "because, in that Case, he would not have spared *Shimei*, in the very Instant of Passion and Provocation, and when he was so earnestly importuned for Leave to punish him." *

Next, he cites from *Plutarch* an Instance of *Pericles's* Patience under the Insult of an Adversary, who railed at him all Day, and pursued him to his

* One might imagine, from such Reasoning as this, that our Author had not lived a Year in the World, or that he had no Acquaintance with human Nature. Who that has known Mankind, has not known a Spirit of Revenge lie long concealed under Appearances of Forgiveness and Reconciliation?

House, reviling him ; but he will have us consider,
 “ that this illustrious *Athenian* was abused by a
 “ Fellow-Citizen, *David* by a Subject and a Re-
 “ bel : * *Pericles*’s Conduct but asserted his Supe-
 “ riority over an insignificant Man ; *David*’s pro-
 “ claimed his Humiliation to God.” †

We are told, *Theodosius* looked upon it as a Fa-
 vour done him, when he was desired to forgive.
 “ *Theodosius* (says our Author) forgave, when he
 “ was petitioned to pardon ; *David*, when he was
 “ petitioned to punish ; herein imitating the Mercy
 “ of God, who, as *Isaiab* expresses it, *waiteth that*
 “ *he may be gracious*. Had *David* copied after
 “ any lower Pattern, he had not spared *Shimei*, in
 “ the very Instant of Passion and Provocation ;
 “ nor would he afterwards have forgiven him in
 “ the Fulness of Prosperity and Power. || — He
 “ had before conquered great Nations by his For-
 “ titude and Conduct, as a Captain ; and Heroes
 “ and Leaders by his personal Prowess : but he was
 “ now yet greater, in ruling his own Spirit, and
 “ subduing his Resentments to the Humiliation
 “ which he owed to God. He very well knew

* *Shimei* considered *David* as a Rebel, Usurper, and bloody Man, and looked on his Distress as a Judgment of Heaven upon him for those Crimes.

† 2 *Sam.* xvi. 10. Many profane Persons, under Affliction, express themselves as humbly.

|| This Comparison is little (if at all) short of Blasphemy. What ! does the blessed God dissemble with his repenting Creatures, when they confess their Guilt, and sue for Mercy, *pretending* only to pardon them ; declaring they shall not die, when yet he retains a Resentment of their Offences, and a Resolution of destroying them on that Account hereafter ? Is this waiting to be gracious ? Or is it not rather waiting to be revenged ? But if, on one hand, it be impious to resemble *David* to God, in this Case ; how ridiculous is it, on the other, to talk of his pardoning *Shimei* at all ? With what Propriety can he be said to forgive a Man, whose Punishment he only prudentially deferred, and most earnestly enjoined another to execute ?

“ how

“ how much the Remission of personal Injuries be-
 “ came the Kingly Character; and therefore he
 “ gave *Shimei* his Life, and confirmed the Grant
 “ by an Oath. But then it must be remember’d,
 “ that the Obligation of this Oath was purely per-
 “ sonal; for so he himself explains it, *1 Kings* ii. 8.
 “ *And I swear unto him by the Lord, saying, I will*
 “ *not put thee to Death by the Sword.* And there-
 “ fore, although *David* was bound, *Solomon* was
 “ at full Liberty to vindicate the Majesty of Kings,
 “ in chastising this high Affront upon his Father,
 “ after such a Manner as he thought fit : Nor was
 “ there any Danger of doing this to Excess, when
 “ the Chastisement was deferred to the calm and
 “ cool Season of dispassionate Justice; when nei-
 “ ther Passion, nor personal Resentment, could in-
 “ flame the Vengeance. *David* well knew how
 “ much it became the Piety of his Character, to
 “ remit himself, and his Concerns, to the Divine
 “ Disposal, throughout the whole Course of his
 “ Life; but could he, for this Reason, wholly re-
 “ nounce the Interest of Justice? Or, if he could,
 “ he very well knew how dangerous an Example
 “ it might be to his Successors, to suffer such Inju-
 “ ries and Insults upon Majesty to pass unpunished :
 “ And therefore, when he had acted up to the
 “ Piety and Dignity of his own Character, he very
 “ wisely admonished his Son, to act up to the Wis-
 “ dom of his.”

Here the Reader has the very Froth of Sophi-
 stry! Reasoning (if that Term may be thrown
 away upon it) lighter than the very Wind! An
 Apology that one would not imagine a Man of the
 least Judgment or Modesty could have offered, and
 which can impose on no one of sound Understanding :
 It must disgust every body of that Character; and
 tends rather to prejudice *David*’s Reputation, than
 to enhance their Esteem of his Virtue. Yet our
 Author

Author begs Leave to observe, That it sufficiently justifies that Prince in this Point of *Shimei*, even upon Supposition, that the Text is rightly translated, which he is, in his private Judgment, fully convinced to be otherwise: “For surely the Particle “*Vau* ought to be render’d here, as in all similar “Cases, not connectively, but disjunctively.” This he instances only in one Case; he might, he says, mention many.

“*Agur* beseeches God to keep him from the “Extremes both of Poverty and Wealth. If the “Particle *Vau* were to be interpreted here connectively, the Petition would run thus — *Give me “not Poverty and Riches.* — Every one sees the “Absurdity of this Petition; and therefore the “Translators rightly rendered it, *Give me neither “Poverty nor Riches.* In the same Analogy the “Passage in Question, rightly translated, will stand “thus: *Now therefore neither hold him guiltless, “(for thou art a wise Man, and knowest what thou “oughtest to do unto him) nor his hoar Head bring “thou down to the Grave with Blood.* This Advice, in this Sense, is full of Humanity, as well “as Wisdom; and *Solomon* (we see) understood “and observed it in this Sense, and in no other.”

Here is something that carries the Face of an Apology; but what hinder’d our Author from producing it at first? A Fondness of Trifling. This History of the Life of *David* may not improperly be stiled *Dr. D——’s Vagaries.*

The last Chapter of this Work (the 26th) is a Collection of the finest Flowers our Author could collect for the Adornment of his Hero. It is a short Comparison of him with *Alexander, Caesar,* and *Scipio*, and closes with his Character, vastly superior to that of any of the others, and with that I will finish this Article.

“*David’s*

“ *David’s* is a Character which stands single, in
“ the Accounts of the World ; equally eminent and
“ unrivalled.

“ For, not to insist upon his great personal Ac-
“ complishments, such as Beauty, Stature, Strength,
“ Swiftneſs, and Eloquence, his Character is suffi-
“ ently distinguished by the nobleſt Qualities, En-
“ dowments, and Events.

“ Exalted from an humble Shepherd to a mighty
“ Monarch, without the least Tincture of Pride,
“ Disdain, or Envy ! Quite otherwise ; remark-
“ ably humble in Elevation ; or, rather, humbled
“ by it ! Exalted unenvied ! Exalted himself, and
“ equally exalting the State he ruled ; raising it
“ from Contempt, Poverty, and Oppression, to
“ Wealth, Dignity, and Sway ! A Man experi-
“ enced in every Vicissitude of Fortune and Life,
“ and equal to them all ! Thoroughly tried in Ad-
“ versity, and tempted by Success ! Yet still Su-
“ perior ! Cruelly and unjustly persecuted, yet not
“ to be provoked even to just Revenge ! In the
“ saddest and suddenest Reverse of Fortune, de-
“ pressed by nothing but the Remembrance of
“ Guilt ; and, in consequence of that, unhumbled
“ to any thing but God !

“ To sum up all : A true Believer, and zealous
“ Adorer of God ; a Teacher of his Law and
“ Worship, and Inspirer of his Praise ! A glori-
“ ous Example, a perpetual and inexhaustible
“ Fountain of true Piety ! A consummate and un-
“ equalled Hero, a skilful and fortunate Captain !
“ A steady Patriot, a wise Ruler, a faithful, a ge-
“ nerous, and a magnanimous Friend ! And, what
“ is yet rarer, a no less generous and magnani-
“ mous Enemy ! A true Penitent, a divine Musi-
“ cian, a sublime Poet, and an inspired Prophet !
“ By Birth, a Peasant ; by Merit, a Prince ! In
“ Youth,

“ Youth, a Hero ; in Manhood, a Monarch ; in

“ Age, a Saint !

“ This is *David*. What his Revilers are, their
“ own Revilings tell.”

ARTICLE XIV.*

THE *TEMPLUM HARMONIÆ*, wrote by Mr. POWNY, and printed at *London*, is a sublime Epic Poem on an uncommon Subject, *The Invention, Progress, and Perfection of Musick*. The Author has sought out the Original of that Science from all the Learning of the remotest Antiquity, and goes deep into *Hydraulicks*, or the Philosophy of Sounds ; and with a vast Reach of Thought, and inexhaustible Invention, shews how the Universe is founded in Harmony. And after having introduced an infinite Variety of beautiful Images, and surprising Incidents, all naturally connected with the principal Argument and Design of the Poem, yet heighten'd by the Dignity of Language, and Majesty of Numbers ; he winds up the Whole with a grand Moral, that the Prosperity of civil Society depends upon the Harmony of its Members : And then, in a most interesting and affecting Manner, describes the Grievances his Country sustains by intestine Discord. The *Britons*, overwhelmed with Miseries, consult the Oracle how this once flourishing Kingdom may be restored to its lost Glory and Happiness. It is revealed to them, that they are plagued with these Evils for the slighted Sacrifice and neglected Altars of Harmony and the Gods. The *Britons*, moved with Contrition, make a solemn Procession to the *Temple of Harmony*. The Temple is briefly described ; and there the Author takes Occasion to throw a Ray of Glory on his revered Patron the Duke of *Bedford*,

* The Publisher is unacquainted with the Writer of this Article.

ford, and introduces a Compliment little inferior to that which his great Master made to *Augustus* in his *Georgicks*. He brings this illustrious Personage, whom he represents to be the Favourite of the Gods and Mankind, to the High Altar; where, in Behalf of his miserable and distressed Countrymen, he makes a solemn and pathetic Prayer to the Goddess of *Harmony*, who is moved with Pity and Compassion. The Gods are appeased, and *Britain* is reinstated in the Favour of Heaven.

- * “ *Progenies Jovis, Harmoniæ, quæ liminis hujus*
- “ *Intima præsidio tutaris, numine complēs,*
- “ *Si tibi rite memor, primis devotus ab annis,*
- “ *Debita persolvi, si non indigna reposco*
- “ *Adsis, O ! Britonumque graves miserata labores,*
- “ *Affer opem, & cælo miseris descende levamen :*
- “ *Tu potes orando Phœbi male numen amicum*
- “ *Flectere, Diva, Deum tibi tela & lethifer arcus*
- “ *Cessabunt, iræque truces & dextera. Vindex,*
- “ *O ! rerum mistique salus, Concordia, Mundi.”*
- Mota Dea est ac signa sonis felicia lætis*
- Omnibus ipsa adytis dabat ac penetralibus imis.*
- Olli mox Phœbus placide subridet, &c.*

* Page 43.

ARTICLE XV.

CONSIDERATIONS *on the State of the World with regard to the Theory of Religion. In Three Parts. I. Want of Universality in Natural and Revealed Religion, no just Objection against either. II. The Scheme of Divine Providence with regard to the Time and Manner of the several Dispensations of Revealed Religion, more especially the Christian. III. The Progress of Natural Religion and Science, or the continual Improvement of the World in general. Being the Substance of some Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. By EDMUND LAW, M.A. Archdeacon of Carlisle. Printed at Cambridge; and sold by J. Robinson, at the Golden Lion in Ludgate-street, London. Octavo. Pages 256.*

THE Author of these Discourses is distinguished in the Republic of Letters by his Learning and Candour. He would not have us consider what is here offered as a finished Work; it is Part only (he tells us) of a much larger Design, tending to shew “ that Arts and Sciences, Natural and Revealed Religion, have upon the whole always “ been progressive, from the Creation of the World “ to the present Time; as also that they have been “ suited to each other, as well as to the Circumstances of Mankind, during each Period of this “ their Progression.” A Theory which, when fairly represented, Mr. *Law* has been assured would give some Satisfaction to many who “ being convinced of the Existence and Attributes of one “ supreme

“ supreme first Cause, yet are so unhappy as to entertain strong Prejudices against every Kind of Revelation, chiefly on Account of the Circumstances under which it was supposed to have been communicated, which they are unable to reconcile with the Course and Order of Divine Providence in all other Respects; as well as to those who are equally at a Loss in searching after any settled Order or Design in either of these Establishments: but yet if they could once persuade themselves in general that one of these proceeded in some Sort of uniform *Ratio* and *Analogy* with the other, and that both were in a State of regular *Progression*, would have Patience to wait a while, in hopes of seeing their particular Objections gradually removed in each by the same Rules.”

Mr. *Law* has formerly attempted to clear up some of the chief Difficulties that occur in our Conceptions of the Deity and his Providence, in some Observations on Archbishop *King's* Essay on the *Origin of Evil*, and has since had the Pleasure (he tells us) of seeing that System adopted by a late celebrated Writer, and esteem'd worthy of being adorn'd with all the Graces of Poetry.* The Performance before us is in some Respects a Continuation of the same Design: But being at present in great measure cut off from such Books as were necessary to complete it, he could only draw the Plan and Outlines, and was forced to content himself with venturing it abroad in the present Form, rather than be at the Pains of throwing it into one close continued Treatise; especially as he could not think his present Stock of Materials would have been sufficient to have given that its due Proportions.

* It is probably Mr. *Pope's* *Essay on Man* that is here referred to.

ARTICLE XVI.

THE Reverend Mr. SMITH, some Time Rector of St. John's at NEVIS, and now Rector of St. Mary's in Bedford, has publish'd, in eleven Letters, to the Reverend Mr. MASON, B. D. Woodwardian Professor, and Fellow of Trinity-College in Cambridge, A Natural History of NEVIS, and the rest of the *English Leeward Charibee Islands in America*: With many other Observations on Nature and Art; particularly, an Introduction to the Art of *Decyphering*. *

Nothing can be more miscellaneous than these Epistles; not only as each is different from the rest, but as each of them contains a Variety of Topics, which sometimes seem to have little or no Connection. The Writer roves from one to another without the least Restraint; and with Accounts of his Adventures, Diversions, Discoveries, and Observations, mixes those of other People, which, as well as many of his own, have no more to do with the Natural History of NEVIS, or any of the *Charibee-Islands*, than with the Plains of *Thessaly*, or the Desarts of *Arabia*. He is fond, in many Places, of introducing long Quotations from MILTON's *Paradise Lost*; and he has several Citations from Prose Authors. Many, both of his Stories and Remarks, are trite and trifling. *Misson* is a great Authority with him. In one Place he has inserted from that Traveller's fourth Volume a fine *Italian Letter* (as he styles it) about the *Tarantula*, from Dr. *Dominico Sangenito* to Mr. *Bulifon* at *Naples*. After descanting on this a little, he skips to a Discourse on the *Amianthus*, in which Mr. *Misson* is still of use to him. In his fifth Epistle we have a Transcript of a very curious Letter, wrote from *Naples*, to my Lord *Lovel*, by Mr. *George Shelvock*, Junior, who was Travelling-Tutor to his Son, about a subterraneous Town lately found near the Foot of *Mount Vesuvius*. From hence he takes Occasion to talk of *Vulcanos*, *Irruptions*, *Earthquakes*, and the like. After all, Mr. *Smith's* rambling Manner affords more Entertainment than is consistent with a strict Regard to Method; and tho' so much of his Compositions arises from foreign Materials, they are probably more amusing, than if they had consisted altogether of his own Stock. His Stile is every where rais'd, bordering on the poetical, in several Instances, and sometimes extravagant, considering the Trifles that are clad with it.

* Octavo. Pages 318, besides the Dedication and Index.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORKS of the LEARNED.

For DECEMBER, 1743.

ARTICLE XVII.



ABOUT the Beginning of the Year 1745, there was published a Book, intituled, *A New Mechanical Practice of Physick*, wrote by DAVID STEPHENSON, M. A. which being a Work wholly new, we shall give a summary View thereof, beginning with some preliminary Observations extracted out of the Preface and Introduction, and then exhibit a brief Abstract of each Chapter.

INTRODUCTION.

I. IN order to determine the just Boundaries and Pretensions of Physic and Physicians, and shew how far human Art can be of Use in preserving Health, and curing Diseases, and which are the best Methods for that Purpose, the Author begins with observing, that the Human Body consists of two general Principles, the Solids and Fluids. With
C c respect

respect to the first, he remarks, That the Original Elementary Stamina of the Animal Solids, are interwoven, platted, and twisted together, in such a peculiar Manner in their first Formation, whereby they acquire a certain definite Degree of Cohesion, Elasticity, and Moving Force, which no human Art, nor all the Medicines in Nature, can mend or alter for the better afterwards.

2. The first infinitesimal Principles of the Animal Solids admit of infinite Variety in their Assemblage, Contexture, and Composition; from whence proceeds the Difference of Strength, Constitutions, Genius, Temperaments, Passions, &c. in both Sexes, and in the several Individuals of each Sex.

3. The whole Moving Force whereby the Animal Fluids become at first put in Motion, Heat, and Fluidity, and continued therein, belongs intrinsically to the Animal Solids, as their peculiar Property only; the Fluids having no Tendency nor Principle of Motion in themselves.

4. Every individual Animal, by Virtue of the original Formation and Contexture of its Solids, becomes endowed with a definite Degree of Strength and Moving Force; in the regular or irregular Government whereof, in the several Stages of Life, consists the Whole that relates to Longævity, Health, and Diseases. Thus, for Example, if this Moving Force of the Solids be suffered to rise too high, and become predominant, or be too long continued, the Animal will have its Growth unduly accelerated, and arrive the sooner at its full State, Maturity, and Dissolution, and be more subject withal to Diseases of the acute inflammatory Kind; and, on the contrary, if the Moving Force of the Solids is suffered to become too languid and depress'd, and not duly exerted, or be too long discontinued, the Animal will arrive the later at its full Growth and Dissolution,
but

but be more subject withal to Diseases of the chronick Kind : So that between these two Extreame of too great and too small a Motion in the Solids and Fluids, lies the golden Mean and true Path that leads to the Temple of Health and Longævity.

5. The Human Body is a compound hydraulick Machine, consisting of many single Machines, as the Stomach, Heart, Brain, Lungs, Liver, Kidneys, Testes, Spleen, &c. All which simple Glands, Organs, and Muscles, with their proper System of Vessels, being so many distinct Hydraulick Machines, except the Lungs, which consisting of a System of Sanguineous and Air Vessels, are properly a Pneumatico-Hydraulick Engine. And as all those single Machines constitute but one Compound or Whole, it is necessary that they have a mutual Communication or Dependance upon each other ; and likewise that they be constructed of a due Magnitude and Moving Force, to fit them for circulating and secreting their respective Fluids. This Quantity of Moving Force that is proper to each Organ or Gland, the Author calls the Natural or Constitutional Moving Force, or Quantity of Motion of such Organ. When therefore all the several Organs have their respective Magnitudes and Moving Forces, or Quantities of Motion that are Natural and Constitutional thereto, they will be enabled to perform their relative Offices duly, and to maintain a just Ballance with each other, which is what constitutes the Idea and Definition of perfect Health.

6. The Animal Machine can't be sensibly affected with any Disease, but either the whole System of the Solids, or of some one Organ or more, must first acquire either too great or too small a Moving Force or Quantity of Motion. And although the Fluids have their Diseases, both as to Quantities and Qualities, distinct from those of the Solids, and may happen to be previously indisposed ; yet, ne-

vertheless, the ultimate immediate Cause and Eff-
 fence of every Disease or Disorder, whatever may
 be the remote antecedent productive Causes thereof,
 is to be referred to the Solids, which will have their
 Moving Force either raised above, or depressed be-
 low their Natural Constitutional Quantity and Stan-
 dard Measure. And however all the Diseases that
 can happen to this Complex Animal Machine pro-
 ceed from this one Cause alone, of too great or too
 small a Moving Force, either in all, or in some one
 or more of its Organs; yet will the same appear
 diversified with various Phenomena and Symptoms,
 as if they proceeded from different Causes, accord-
 ing as the Change in the Natural Constitutional
 Moving Force is greater or less, or as it affects one
 or more of the Organs.

7. As all Diseases are produced from a Quantity
 of Motion either added to or subtracted from the
 Solids of the whole Body, or of some one or more
 of its Organs, whereby their Moving Force is raised
 above or depressed below their Natural Healthful
 Measure, and thereby the Equilibrium between the
 several Organs becomes destroyed; it follows, by
 necessary Consequence, that the Cure of all Diseases
 and Disorders can be effected no other Ways, but
 by adding or subtracting Motion to or from the
 Solids of the whole Body, or of some one or more
 of its Organs, until they acquire their Natural Con-
 stitutional Quantity of Motion or Moving Force,
 whereby they will become fitted for their respective
 Functions, and maintain a just Ballance with each
 other.

8. However, the Animal Solids can't receive
 from human Art any greater Degree of Strength
 and Moving Force, than what they derive from
 their original Formation and Structure; neverthe-
 less, the same may occasionally, from the Influence
 of Extrinsic Causes, have their Moving Force in-
 creased

creased or diminished more than what is consistent with a continual State of Health; and in this Respect only it is that they come properly under the Direction of the Physician, the whole of his Province being carefully to regard and distinguish those two opposite States of the Solids, and to constringe and relax, or increase and diminish, their Moving Force at proper Times, so as to keep them within due Limits and Bounds, and in a Condition for circulating the Fluids with a proper Velocity; to which Purpose he must likewise take Care that the Fluids be of a proper Quantity, that is, such as is proportionate to the Motive Force of the Solids, and have all the other Qualities necessary for the several Offices of the Animal Œconomy. Which two general Intentions relating to the Solids and Fluids, with the best Means and Remedies for effecting the same, comprehends the whole Practice of Physick, and all that human Art can possibly do towards obtaining Health, Longævity, or the Cure of Diseases.

9. Having shewn Health to consist in a just Equilibrium between the Moving Forces of the several Organs and Glands of the Body, and that all Diseases are only Changes or Alterations in this just Ballance of Animal Motion, differing only as to Degrees, Symptoms, Times, Seasons, Periods, and other Circumstances; the next Thing to be considered is, what are the principal Causes and Powers by which this nice Ballance of Animal Motion and Health becomes most commonly affected, and by which it is best preserved, or recovered when lost.

10. The Animal Body consisting of a System of Contractile Distractile Tubes, infinite in Number, and in the Manner of their Disposition, Convolution, Curvature, &c. filled with Fluids subject to great Degrees of Rarefaction and Condensation, is, by Virtue of this its Composition, an Elastick,

Vascular, Compressible Machine, constructed upon the most perfect Principles of Geometry, Mechanics, Hydraulicks, Pneumaticks, &c. at first formed and put in Motion by God, and continued in Motion for a certain Period of Time by the continued Influence of the same Creating Power, operating thereon by certain general Causes and Remedies; namely, Aliment, Air, Water, Elementary Fire, Motion or Exercise, with the Passions. All which may be considered as so many Mechanical Powers, Weights, or Stimuli; which being applied in proper Times and Quantities, are sufficient to keep the Animal Machine in such a State of Motion as will contribute best to its Health and Duration; but when applied in improper Times and Quantities, will as certainly disturb the Œconomy and Vital Motions, and become the Causes of all Diseases.

11. Nature, the great and best Physician, whose Institutions we must ever carefully observe and follow, if we intend to attain a true Knowledge of any of her Works, hath, we find, ordained Aliment, Air, Water, Fire, Motion or Exercise, with the Passions, as the only true general Causes and Remedies for adding and subtracting Motion to and from the Animal Machine, so as to preserve a just Ballance between the Moving Forces of the several Organs and Glands of the Body. As a necessary Consequence from the foregoing Reasoning and Observations, the Author advances the two following Propositions.

12. *First Proposition.* The most perfect, safe, universal Method for communicating and subtracting Motion in all Degrees to and from the Animal Solids and Fluids, and for regulating the Quantities, Qualities, and Distribution of the Fluids, is, by applying a proper Quantity of Pressure, by Means of

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of Air or Water, either to the whole External Body, or to the Respiring Organs, &c.

13. *Second Proposition.* All the general Intents for preserving Health, and the Cure of Diseases, may be effected in the most perfect Manner, by submitting the Body, for a reasonable Time, and at due Intervals, to a proper Quantity of Pressure, &c. applied thereto either by Means of Air or Water, joined and assisted with all their other Properties and Qualities of Gravity, Elasticity, Motion, Attraction, Stimulation, Heat, Cold, Humidity, Dryness, Vapours, &c. applied to the Body and Lungs in such Degrees, Proportions, and Combinations, as agree best with the Constitutional State and Structure of the Body, and Organs of Respiration, &c.

14. For Demonstration of which two Propositions, the Author offers the following Arguments: That Motion is the principal immediate Cause and Instrument to which alone the Power, Force, and Energy of all Bodies is wholly owing, and by which all the Operations, Effects, and Alterations in the Material Universe are produced; for Matter or Bodies, without Motion, can undergo no Change themselves, nor produce any Change in other Bodies, but would remain for ever in a State of absolute Rest and Inaction; so that whatever Changes happen in Bodies, the same are all produced by some Quantity of Motion added thereto, or subtracted therefrom.

15. From whence it necessarily follows, that no Animal Organiz'd Body can suffer any Change, either from Health to Sickness, or from Sickness to Health, but by some Quantity of Motion either added thereto or subtracted therefrom, let the Causes communicating or subtracting the Motion be what thy will, material or immaterial; and, consequently, all Medicines, Means, and Methods,

for preserving Health, and curing Diseases, be they of what Kind soever, and applied in what Manner soever, internally or externally, as Emeticks, Catharticks, Diureticks, Sudorificks, Salivarticks, Epispasticks, Bathing, Friction, Causticks, Cauteries, Venesection, Odontalgicks, Sternutories, Opiates, Stimuli, Exercise of all Kinds, &c. yet still the ultimate Effect of all such Means and Medicines resolves at last and consists wholly in the Quantity of Motion which they either add to, or subtract from the Body, or some one or more of its Organs and Parts.

16. The Powers and Virtues of all Medicines and Means of Healing, of what Kind soever, whereby they become capable of adding or subtracting Motion to and from the Animal Solids and Fluids, or of producing any Change therein, consists wholly in their Mechanical Properties and Qualities, namely, their Fluidity, Gravity, Elasticity, Pressure, Motion, Attraction, Heat, Cold, Humidity, Dryness, &c. And as Air and Water are eminently endowed with all the said Properties and Qualities, by which alone all other Remedies produce their Effects, it follows, that Air or Water, applied either separately or jointly, will produce all the Alterations wanting in the Solids and Fluids, that any other Medicines can do, but with infinitely greater Success, Certainty, Safety, and Expedition.

17. That the Air, considered as operating by its variable Qualities of Pressure, &c. upon the external Human Body, is capable of producing the greatest and most universal Alterations in the Animal Solids and Fluids, tending either to Health or Sickness, may be found demonstrated in the second Chapter, &c.

18. That the Air, by acting with variable Degrees of Pressure, &c. upon the Organs of Respiration becomes the great and most universal Cause both

both of Health and Diseases, is demonstrated in the third Chapter.

19. That Pressure, when applied to the Body in a proper Quantity, and for a reasonable Time, and at due Intervals, either by Means of Air or Water, is capable of effecting the greatest and most universal Alterations in the Solids and Fluids, is demonstrable from the Structure and Mechanism of the Body, which being an Elastick, Vascular, Compressible Machine, whenever any additional Pressure is laid thereon, either by Air or Water, the Effects of that Pressure will be communicated and propagated instantaneously throughout the whole Animal System, in such wise, that every the smallest Evanescent Fibre and Capillary Tube will become sensibly affected, and feel the Influence thereof; and upon taking off that additional Pressure from the Body, the whole Vascular System, by its intrinsick restitutive Force, will expand and dilate, and both the Solids and Fluids undergoing an universal Diastole, the whole Body will become increased in its Bulk and Dimensions; and after this Manner the whole Body will continue to oscillate and vibrate successively and smartly inwards and outwards, to and from its Axis or Centre, during the Operation.

20. The Truth of the two Propositions and Reasoning foregoing is further demonstrable from two invincible Arguments, drawn from Experience and Facts; as appears, first, from the Practice of Bathing, the great Efficacy whereof, in curing many Diseases, preferable to all other Remedies, being principally owing to the additional Pressure, together with the Stimulus of the Water, by which the whole Vascular System becomes subject to a general Compression and Squeeze, and is made to vibrate smartly; whereby the Viscidity of the Fluids will be subdued, Obstructions removed, and the Secretions promoted. Secondly, What further proves the

the Truth hereof is, that the Air, with its changeable Properties, is the principal Cause of Health and Diseases, as is confirm'd from daily Experience; a Change of Air being the only Cure for many Capital Distempers, which admit of no Cure by any other Remedies. In Consequence of which Reasoning, the Author proposes this Problem.

21. *Problem.* To find a Method whereby Air, Water, and Motion, with all their Properties and Qualities of Gravity, Elasticity, Pressure, Heat, Cold, Humidity, Dryness, &c. may be applied, and made to operate in all Degrees and Combinations upon the whole external Body and its Parts, as also upon the Organs of Respiration, and with such a Force and Momentum as agrees best with the present Constitutional State and Organical Structure of every individual Person; and that at all Times, and for as long a Time, as answers best with the Indications, &c.

22. The Solution of this Capital Problem, with its Cases, the Author proposes to give in the several Chapters of this Treatise, having first premised the following general Rules or Aphorisms.

23. First general Rule is, Never to account for the original Production of Diseases, from a Multiplicity and Chain of remote, hypothetical, complex Causes, when one only, or a few, and such as Reason and Experience teach us do really exist, are sufficient for producing the same: These have been shewn to be Aliment, Air, Water, Elementary Fire, Motion or Exercise, with the Passions; which few general Principles will furnish us with the true and proper Causes of all Diseases, as also with the most perfect, safe, universal Means and Remedies for curing all Diseases, &c.

24. Second general Rule is, Never to propose or undertake the Cure of any Disease by a Multiplicity of Medicines, the Properties whereof, with their

their ultimate Effects upon the Body, we can never possibly know, such as are all or most of the artificial Remedies now in Use, when all the same Intentions of Cure can be more perfectly effected by a few simple universal Means and Remedies, which are for that End appointed by Providence, and dispensed to all Mankind pretty equally and alike, and are endowed with all the Properties and Qualities necessary to constitute them the most sovereign catholick Means and Remedies ; and these we find to be Aliment, Air, Water, Fire, Motion or Exercise, with the Passions ; which judiciously applied, as here directed, will afford all the necessary Means for attaining Health, and the Cure of all Diseases.

25. Third general Rule is, Never to undertake the Cure of any Disease by Means of Medicines given internally, when the same can be effected by proper Mechanical Methods and Means, applied to the Body or its Parts externally. Now whatsoever Intentions and Alterations are wanting in the Animal Solids and Fluids, the same may be effected (as is shewn in this Treatise) more safely, expeditiously, and perfectly, by proper Methods of applying the Mechanical Properties and Qualities of Air, Water, and Motion, externally to the Human Body, and its Parts ; as also to the Organs of Respiration, with the joint Assistance of Aliment, and the Passions, than by any Medicines administer'd internally, &c.

CH A P. I.

1. **T**HE Author in this Chapter demonstrates the present Practice of Bathing to be not only very imperfect, and its salutary Effects in a great Measure lost, but to prove often very prejudicial to Health ; to which Purpose he observes, that the whole Efficacy of Bathing, either in cold or hot Water,

Water, consists in the additional Pressure and Stimulation laid upon the Body, with the great Motion communicated thereto for that Time ; the Water, by its Weight and Pressure, acting alike in both Baths, but by its Qualities of Heat and Cold, producing different and contrary Effects ; the former serving to constringe and brace the Animal Solids, and thereby increase their Moving Force, whilst at the same Time it condenses the Fluids ; whereas the latter relaxes the Solids, and diminishes their Moving Force, and at the same Time rarefies the Fluids.

2. But the principal Property wherein the Efficacy of Bathing consists, is the additional Pressure of the Water, applied like an universal Bandage to the Body, which being an Elastick Vascular Machine, becomes strongly compress'd and stimulated thereby, and the whole Animal System made to oscillate and vibrate smartly from the Surface inwards to its Axis, and from the Axis outwards to the Surface ; whereby the Fluids, if viscid, will become attenuated, and circulated with greater Celerity, and the whole Series of Glands and Vessels squeezed and scowered, Obstructions removed, and the Secretions increased, especially by the cutaneous and renal Glands, &c.

3. Let a Person place his Body in what Position soever in Water, the under Parts will sustain a greater Pressure than the upper : suppose then, that taking one Part of the Body with another, the Whole to be immersed two Feet under Water, or to be pressed upon by two perpendicular Feet of Water, which is rather more than what it ever is in the Case of common Bathing or Swimming ; suppose again, the Surface of this Person's Body equal to fifteen superficial Feet, in that Case he will sustain an additional Pressure upon his Body of about 2280 Pounds Weight, which is both the very greatest,

greatest, as also the very least Quantity of Pressure that he can possibly receive from the Water ; whence it is manifest, the Bath operates with Respect of its Weight and Pressure, wherein its Virtues and Efficacy chiefly consists, with a certain limited Force and Quantity only, whence its salutary Effects must be very much limited also ; so that a Person, let his Age, Constitution, Case, Strength, and other Circumstances, be what they will, he must in Bathing the common Way always sustain the very same additional Pressure without Variation ; which renders the Case of Bathing, as now practised, exactly the same with a Medicine, as suppose an Emetick, which will admit of being administer'd only in one certain unalterable Dose or Quantity ; whereas all Physicians know, that not only different Persons, but the very same Person, in different Times, Seasons, and Circumstances, require to have the Doses and Quantities of Medicines, be what they will, varied from less to more, and the contrary, according as will answer best with the present Indications and Symptoms. So that the Bath not being capable of having this its principal Property or Pressure varied, and being always applied in one unalterable Quantity, let the Persons State, Age, Strength, Constitution, &c. be what they will, which, together with want of Judgment to know when, and for what Continuance of Time, the Application of such a certain Quantity of Pressure may be useful, is the chief Reason why Bathing proves in many Cases not only unsuccessful, but becomes moreover oftentimes the Cause of new Distempers ; the Case being exactly parallel with giving the same Quantity and Dose of an Emetick to a grown Person, and a Child ; the former whereof may receive Benefit therefrom, but the latter great Damage, if not certain Death.

4. The Author having shewn the present Practice of Bathing to be not only very imperfect and limited in its Effects, but oftentimes greatly prejudicial, proceeds to give the Construction, Draught, Description, Use, and Application of a new Machine and Apparatus for Bathing, either with cold or hot Water ; whereby a Person, tho' no deeper under Water than in a common Bath, shall, nevertheless, be made to sustain all Degrees of Pressure by the Water, from that of one perpendicular Foot, ascending gradually to that of a hundred or a thousand Feet, and more if required ; by which Means the Weight and Pressure of the Water upon the Person's Body may be increased or diminished in all Proportions, as will answer best to the present Indications ; whereby the Practice of Bathing will become retrieved from its present imperfect narrow State, and from being only a particular Remedy, operating with a definitive limited Force and Efficacy, will be render'd by this new Method an universal Remedy of a general unlimited Force and Virtue, in all Cases wherein Bathing of any Sort is proper : in such wise, that where Bathing proved useful in one Case before, it will now be useful in a hundred or a thousand different Cases ; and as the same is thus improved, may be justly reckoned one of the most efficacious universal Remedies in Nature ; and when judiciously applied, will serve to produce all the Intentions wanting in the Animal Solids and Fluids for preserving Health, and the Cure of Diseases, &c.

5. He proceeds further to shew how the Method of Pump-Bathing, as also the Practice of Fumigating the Body, either universally or topically, with Vapour-Baths, both humid and dry, may be infinitely improved by this new Bathing-Machine and Apparatus ; all which, and many other singular Cases, with the Draughts and Description of the Machinery

Machinery thereunto relating, may be found explained and illustrated more fully in the original Treatise.

The new Methods and Improvements, described in this Chapter, relating to Bathing, appear to us so reasonable, and of such universal Benefit, that we think they merit the most serious Attention and Encouragement of the Publick, in order to reduce them into Use and Practice.

C H A P. II.

1. **T**HE Author in this Chapter discourses of the Mechanical Properties and Qualities of the Air, consider'd as operating externally upon the whole Body, with their Influence and Effects thereupon. To which End he observes as follows.

2. The Air, or Atmosphere, being a general Chaos or Receptacle, between which and the Earth there is a constant reciprocal Circulation of Vapours and Exhalations, raised from all Bodies, Animal, Vegetable, Fossil, by the Action of the solar and subterraneous Heat or Fire, may be considered as the great Laboratory of Nature, serving to sublime, prepare, circulate, and dispense that universal, vivifying, vegetative Spirit, to render the Earth prolific and fertile; the Atmosphere thus constituted serving as an universal Menstruum, by the continual Oscillations whereof all Bodies are kept in a perpetual Agitation and Ferment, and by which the several progressive States and Periods respecting the Generation, Growth, and Dissolution of all Bodies is accomplish'd.

3. This Heterogeneous Fluid, the Terrestrial Atmosphere, by the different variable Attraction of the Sun and Moon, and as it is more or less impregnated with Ethereal Elementary Fire, and the Exhalations raised from all Sorts of Bodies, becomes

comes subject to perpetual Changes, with respect to all its Properties and Qualities of Gravity, Elasticity, Pressure, Heat, Cold, Humidity, Dryness, Motion, &c. and acts upon Animal Bodies with very different Degrees and Forces; upon which Accounts it becomes so absolutely necessary to the Existence and Continuance of all Degrees of Life, that without it no Animal or Vegetable could ever be produced, live, or grow; for which Reason all Animals, from the first to the last Moment of their Existence, require to be very closely enveloped and encompassed round with Air, which, like to an elastick Mould, Matrix, or Bandage, serves, by its changeable Gravity and Pressure, &c. to give Motion, Form, Shape, and Limits, to the Accretion and Growth of the Body, and likewise to sustain the Solids, which must otherwise be violated and burst to Pieces by the distending Force of the rarefying Fluids, which become likewise kept in Motion, Fluxility, and Heat thereby.

4. The Animal Body being an Elastick, Vascular, Compressible Machine, as consisting of a System of Contractile and Distractile Tubes, filled with Fluids subject to great Degrees of Rarefaction and Condensation, must become always necessarily affected, either for the better or worse, by every Change that happens in any one of the Properties and Qualities of the Air; by which it is kept in a perpetual changeable State of Motion, like to a Barometer, Thermometer, or Hygrometer, being always either Contracting or Dilating, Heating or Cooling, &c. The Air having always such a necessary Connection and Influence upon Animal Life, hath ever been allowed, by all Physicians and Philosophers, both ancient and modern, as the universal Remedy and Instrument of Nature, by which all that relates to Health, with the Production and Cure of Diseases, is in a Manner wholly regulated;

regulated ; for Proof whereof, it will be sufficient to consider the general Influence it hath upon the Body, upon which it acts four different Ways. First, it operates constantly and variably upon the whole external Body, and consequently upon the whole System of the Solids and Fluids. Secondly, it acts also constantly and variably upon the whole Mass of Blood, as it circulates through the Lungs. Thirdly, as all the Animal Fluids are ever absorb'd and impregnated with Air, it hath in that Respect a general Action with all the Fluids, and by Consequence upon all the Solids. Fourthly, it hath a general Action within all the Cavities of the Body, and their Contents, as the Thorax, Abdomen, Stomach, Intestines, &c. By Virtue of which four-fold general Action it acquires an absolute Dominion and Empire over Animal Life, and becomes the principal Cause both of Health and Diseases ; of which there needs no Proof, this being a Truth obvious to every common Observer, as well as the Physician, how that certain Diseases keep Time exactly as to their Appearance, Periods, and Disappearance, revolving and coming round periodically with the Seasons of the Year ; and thus we find the Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, each productive of such Distempers as may be naturally and necessarily produced from the predominant Constitutions of the Air at those Seasons ; and the Diseases which reign in the intermediate Seasons, appear to be the same Specifick Diseases, differing only in Degrees from those Capital Diseases which prevail about the four Cardinal Seasons : So that we may very justly say with *Hypocrates*, That the several Seasons of the Year, or the different Constitutions of the Air at those Seasons, with respect of all its Properties and Qualities, are the true general Parent and productive Cause of Diseases, Epidemick, Endemick, &c.

5. The Air, with its changeable Properties and Qualities, being allowed by all as the principal productive Cause of Diseases, it follows, by necessary Consequence, that if the Air could be changed, and made to operate upon the Body with Properties and Qualities contrary to those by which the Diseases were produced, in that Case the Air would become the only perfect Remedy, for curing all such Distempers as proceed from the disproportionate Action of any one or of all its Properties and Qualities; it being a received Physical Aphorism, That to cure any Disease perfectly, the Cause must either be wholly taken away, or made to operate in a contrary Manner; or, which comes to the same Thing, Diseases must ever be cured by Causes opposite and contrary to those by which they were produced. So that when any Disease is produced, from the Action of any one of the Properties of the Air being relatively disproportionate to the Constitutional State either of the Body or Respiring Organs, it will be as impossible and unreasonable to propose, to cure such a Disease, without changing the Properties of the Air by which it was produced, as it would be to cure a Dropsy by Tapping, Blistering, Purging, Scarifying, Sweating, Salivating, &c. For tho' the Waters may be forced and drained off by those unnatural Passages, and kept under for a Time by these Means, yet so long as the Renal Glands continue obstructed, or otherwise incapacitated for their Office, which is the true Cause of this Distemper, it will be in vain to expect a perfect Cure, without removing the Cause, and restoring the Renal Glands to their Natural Constitutional Moving Force.

6. Having shewn the Air to be the true general Cause both of Health and Diseases, according as its Qualities are relatively well or ill proportioned to the Constitutions of Persons; now, in order to
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attain all its good Effects, and remedy or prevent all its ill Effects, the Author, for that Purpose, proceeds to give the Draught, Description, Use, and Application, of a new Machine and Apparatus, whereby an Artificial Atmosphere may be prepared at all Times and Seasons, having all its Properties and Qualities regulated and adjusted in all Degrees and Combinations, independently of the General Atmosphere, as shall agree best with the present Constitutional State of every Person: so that by having such a Machine and Artificial Atmosphere thus properly prepared, wherein a Person may inclose and shut himself up at certain Times, and by causing this Atmosphere to operate upon his Body for a reasonable Time, with its Qualities intended and remitted in all Degrees as he finds suits best with his present Case, he may raise or lower the Moving Force of his Solids, to what Pitch or Degree he finds most agreeable to his present Exigency, in like Manner as putting Hair in Buckle, or Winding up a Watch, &c.

7. Such an Artificial Atmosphere, or Air-Bath, which admits of having all its Qualities changed in all Degrees and Combinations, as answers best to the present Indications, being made to operate externally upon the whole Body, as also upon the Organs of Respiration, will prove the most sovereign perfect Remedy, both for Prevention and Cure of Diseases proceeding from the relatively disproportionate Qualities of the General Atmosphere; by reason this Artificial Atmosphere can at all Times, and for any Space of Time, and in all Places, have its Properties and Qualities intended and remitted, regulated and adjusted, so as to act with all Degrees of Force, independently of and contrary to those of the General Atmosphere; upon all which Accounts it must prove the most natural perfect Method for curing all the Diseases produced

thereby : in which Respects, this Artificial Atmosphere may be considered as a Fluid Mould or Matrix, that may be set wider or closer, tighter or slacker, to the Body, or render'd heavier or lighter, hotter or colder, moister or drier, &c. in all Degrees, as suits best with the present State of every Person, either to contract or relax the Solids, or to grind and attenuate the Fluids coarser or finer, &c. So that the Air being thus converted into an Artificial Fluid Mould or Bandage, will serve, as the most efficacious universal Remedy in Nature, for attaining the two following Cardinal Intentions, which comprehend the whole Practice of Physick, and all that is possible for Art to do, either for preserving Health or curing Diseases ; and that is, first, to constringe and relax, or raise and lower the Moving Force of the Solids occasionally, at proper Times, as is found necessary, so as to keep them in a due State and Plight for circulating the Fluids with a proper Velocity ; and, secondly, in keeping the Fluids of a proper Quantity, that is, such as is proportionate to the Moving Force of the Solids, and also of a proper Degree of Fluidity, Tenuity, &c. In the due Effecting of which two general Intentions consists the whole Secret and Art of attaining Health, Longevity, and the Cure of Diseases.

8. Moreover, such an Artificial Atmosphere, or Air-Bath, will answer all the Intentions either of a Cold or Hot Water-Bath, but with infinitely greater Advantage ; for, first, the Pressure upon the Body may be increased or diminished in all Degrees, so as to be an hundred Times, or more, greater than what it ever can be in any Water-Bath that is now in Use : and, besides, there is this very great Advantage attending this new Artificial Air-Bath above a Water-Bath, either Cold or Hot, *viz.* that let a Person place his Body in what Situation soever, and at what Depth under Water soever, yet as the Water

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is an Unelastick Incompressible Fluid, the Pressure will not be applied to all Parts of the Body equally, the Parts having a greater or less Pressure laid upon them in proportion to their Depth under Water, the Lowermost being more compressed than the Uppermost; which Inequality of Pressure will always cause an irregular unequal Derivation and Revulsion of the Fluids: but in using this Artificial Air-Bath the Case will be quite different, for as the Pressure is communicated to the Body by the Air, that being an Elastick Compressible Fluid, the Pressure will be laid equally upon all Parts of the Body; so that the Derivation and Revulsion of the Fluids, either from the Surface inwards to the Axis of the Body, or from the Axis outwards to the Circumference, will be equable, regular, and uniform. Besides, the Exercise of the Cold Bath is too fatiguing and disagreeable to most Persons, to pursue the same regularly; and by Reason of its too strong and sudden Stimulus, is improper for the old, infirm, and such as have unsound Viscera, Internal Tumours, Inflammations, Ulcers, Hemorrhages, &c. All which Inconveniencies will be avoided, and all the same Intentions infinitely better attained, by such an Artificial Atmosphere Air-Bath, the Air being the natural Element of the Human Body. Neither will a Person, in going into this Air-Bath, be obliged to change or take off any of his Cloaths; but may go into the same as often, and for as long a Time, as he finds Benefit thereby, with as little Trouble as going into his Closet or Study, &c.

9. A Person provided with such a Machine, or Artificial Atmosphere, thus capable of having all or any of its Properties and Qualities changed and altered at Pleasure, as suits best with his present Case and Indications, will find a sure Sanctuary and Assylum therein; by going at proper Times into

which, he may secure himself, and bid Defiance to all the malignant Influences and Alterations that happen in the General Atmosphere; for let the State thereof be what it will, Heavy or Light, Dense or Rare, Hot or Cold, Wet or Dry, in Motion or at Rest, impregnated with Vapours or Exhalations, of any Kind, or not, &c. if he either actually finds or apprehends any ill Effects therefrom, he can fit, prepare, and arm this his Artificial Atmosphere with Properties and Qualities, contrary and differing in any Degrees from those of the General Atmosphere, and such as he finds agrees best with the present Constitution both of his Body and Respiring Organs. And as the Air is, on all Hands, allowed to be the true general Parent and Vehicle for producing and communicating all pestilential, contagious, epidemical, and endemical Diseases, such a Machine and Artificial Atmosphere, like to an invulnerable Coat of Mail or Armour, will serve as the most effectual Means both for preventing and remedying the same, &c.

10. The Author proceeds further to shew, how all the Intentions proposed from Fumigations and Vapour-Baths, both Humid and Dry, may be obtained by this Machine, with much greater Benefit than by the Methods now used for that Purpose; for a more full Account whereof we refer to the original Treatise.

Upon the Whole we observe, that the Arguments assigned in Support of this new Practice appear to us so demonstrative and strong, and the Benefit that must accrue to Mankind therefrom so great, that we think it a common Cause, and the true Interest of every Person; but more especially of the Parliament, who, it is hoped, as being the Guardians of whatever relates to the Lives and Health of the Subject, will promote, and cause a
thorough

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thorough Experimental Enquiry to be made into
the Truth of, this *New Practice of Physick*, &c.

C H A P. III.

1. **T**HE Author having, in the preceding Chapter, shewn what great Influence the Air hath, both in the Production and Cure of Diseases, considered as operating externally with all its changeable Qualities upon the Body, comes, in the next Place, to consider the Mechanical Effects produced in the Blood by the joint Action of the Air and Organs of Respiration, and how much the Health and Diseases of the Body depend thereon, as follows.

2. The Human Body is a real Pneumatico-Hydraulic Machine, composed of two general Principles, the Solids and Fluids: All the Vital Motions and Functions of which Complex Machine are effected and continued by three general principal Powers; the first is the Muscular Moving Force of the Animal Solids; the second is the Air acting by its Pressure, &c. outwardly upon the whole Body, as also inwardly upon the Lungs, and within the Cavities of the Thorax, Abdomen, Stomach, and Intestinal Tube, and also within the very Substance or Interstices of the Fluids; the third is the Animal Fluids. Now the Solids (by which is meant not only the Heart, with its System of Arteries and Veins, but likewise all the Organs and Muscles serving to Respiration and voluntary Motion) together with the Pressure both of the External and Internal Air, are the two Joint Moving Powers and Forces applied for attenuating and giving Motion to the Fluids, which are to be considered as the Resistance to be moved and overcome. When therefore these three Powers have their respective Forces and Resistances well adjusted

to each other, all the Vital Motions and Operations will be regularly executed ; but when they happen to be relatively disproportionate to one another, the same will become disorder'd and diseas'd proportionally. And as one of these principal Powers, namely, the Air, is ever changing, as to all its Properties and Qualities, the other two Powers, namely, the Animal Solids and Fluids, will become there-upon necessarily subject at the same Time to the like perpetual Changes, tending either to Health or Sicknefs.

3. The true Uses of Respiration will become best known, by considering attentively what Alterations, Waste, Defects, &c. the Fluids undergo in the Course of Circulation, and how the same are to be supplied and repaired, &c. For this Purpose the Author observes, that the Blood, which is a very Complex Fluid, being thrown out of the Left Ventricle of the Heart, is convey'd through the Arterial System to all Parts of the Body, where it not only looses Part of its Motion, by moving in a System of Diverging Vessels, but likewise many of its Parts, which it leaves behind for Nutrition of the Body, with what is thrown out by the Expurgatory Glands ; the Blood, as it returns through the Venal System, converging towards the Heart, hath its Motion accelerated, but is withal gross, vapid, and effete, having its Texture and Crasis quite broken and decomposed, by circulating through the several Series of Vessels and Glands, and wants to have its Parts attenuated, mixed, and compounded a-new, and likewise to be supplied with fresh Matter, both for its own Nutrition, and that of the Body. The same is for that Purpose mixed with the Chyle, as it arrives near the Right Auricle and Ventricle of the Heart ; yet still this Supply of Chyle, added to the Blood, would signify little, without a perfect Mixture and Assimilation of both together ;

together; to effect which perfectly, the Auricles and Ventricles of the Heart, being large hollow Muscles, are no ways sufficient; there was therefore a Necessity for having another appropriate Organ to answer this important End and Use, namely, the Lungs, which, by Virtue of their peculiar admirable Structure and Mechanism, are in all Respects most perfectly fitted for this most necessary essential Office. This therefore appears to be the final End and principal Design of this admirable Organ, which from its Structure, Operation, and Use, is a perfect Pneumatico-Hydraulick Engine; serving, like to a Mill or Press, for to grind, attenuate, intimately mix, and assimilate the Principles of the Blood and those of the Chyle together, so as to form one smooth, uniform, balsamick, nutritive Fluid of a similar homogeneous Texture, &c. The Author assigns a second new principal Use to the Lungs, which he thinks to be the proper Gland and Organ for discharging the Air out of the Blood, as it becomes too much rarefied and accumulated in the Course of the Circulation, and not by the cutaneous Glands. He further considers the Organs of Respiration as a principal auxiliary Power, acting in Conjunction both with the Stomach in the Work of Digestion, as also with the Heart in performing the Circulation, &c.

4. From all which Considerations it necessarily follows, that when Respiration is not duly performed, neither the Offices of Digestion, Sanguification, Circulation, Secretion, Nutrition, &c. can be duly executed; so that from this Cause of an imperfect Respiration, join'd to the Errors and Defects of Digestion, consequent thereupon, most, if not all Diseases, may be derived, as their true original Cause, Source, and Seat.

5. As the Air is one principal Power necessarily and jointly concerned in performing Respiration,
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and as the same is ever changing as to all its Qualities, of Gravity, Elasticity, Pressure, Heat, Cold, Humidity, Dryness, Motion, &c. this great essential Office of Respiration, with that of Digestion, Sanguification, Circulation, Secretion, Nutrition, all depending thereon, must become wholly subject to the Dominion and Influence of the Air, by the Alterations whereof we become liable to be attacked and arrested by all the Capital Diseases, as Consumptions, Asthmas, Pleurifies, Atrophies, Cachexies, Hecticks, Dropsies, Relaxed Solids, &c. In all which Distempers we find a Change of Air to be the only natural perfect Cure, and the only Reason why it misses is for want of knowing what Properties and Qualities the Air ought to have, which should always be contrary to those by which he Disease was produced; but the main Difficulty is where to find such an Air: *Hic Labor, hoc Opus est.*

6. As the Air is ever changing in its Gravity, Heat, Cold, &c. and as there is an almost infinite Diversity in the Structure of the Respiring Organs in different Persons, it is impossible that the Air of any Place or Country, let its Properties and Qualities be what they will, should exactly agree with all Persons alike; and tho' they may suit tolerably with the Generality of the Inhabitants, yet there are many who must suffer greatly therefrom, by Reason of the Properties of the Air being relatively disproportionate to the Respiring Organs. This suggested an Occasion to the Author to think, that if a Method could be found for constructing an Artificial Atmosphere, the Air of which should be qualified with such Degrees of Gravity, Elasticity, Pressure, Heat, Cold, Humidity, Dryness, Motion, Vapours, &c. as best suit with the present State of the Patient's Respiring Organs, all Diseases produced from an imperfect Respiration, Chylification, Sanguification, Circulation, Secretion, Nutrition, (which
are

are the true original Sources of all the Capital Diseases) and whilst the Lungs are yet sound and uncorrupted, would become safely and perfectly cured thereby.

7. The Author, in Consequence of the aforesaid Reasoning, proceeds to give the Draught, Description, and Use, of a New Machine and Artificial Atmosphere, by which a Person may be supplied at all Times, and for any Space of Time, with Air for Respiration, endowed with all possible Degrees of Gravity, Elasticity, Heat, Cold, &c. as agree best with the present Constitutional State of a Person's Respiring Organs; whereby all the good Effects of the Air may be obtained, and all its bad Effects prevented and remedied. And whenever the Case requires, the Air which any one is to breathe withal may be impregnated in all Degrees with Vapours, either Humid or Dry, produced either by Ebullition, Accension, Attrition, Fermentation, from Substances of all Kinds, Solid or Fluid, Animal, Vegetable, Fossil; by which Means, the Air he is to respire with may be intermix'd, in all Degrees, with the Exhalations and Effluvia of all such Substances as are found to have any sanative Virtue, in Respect of the Organs of Respiration, either for Contracting, Relaxing, Strengthening, Heating, Cooling, Humecting, Drying, Resolving, Fumigating, &c. So that by having the Air in the Respiring Vessel or Machine thus properly medicated, aromatized, and balmified with the Vapours and Odours of all Kinds of proper Substances, a Person may be put in a Condition, in the Middle of Winter, for to breathe more benign, pure, tepid, dry, salubrious Air, than he could by going to *Italy*, *Montpelier*, or any Part of the Earth, or into the finest Flower-Garden in the Summer-Season.

8. And when a Person applies the Air thus artificially prepared, with Respect to all its Qualities, to his Respiring Organs, he may at the same Time have the Air likewise prepared, in Respect of all its Qualities, and applied externally to his whole Body, as has been shewn in the second Chapter. And thus we are provided with two Artificial Atmospheres; by the first whereof the Air may be made to operate with its Qualities in all Degrees externally upon the whole Body, whereby all the good Effects produced by its Action upon the Body externally may be obtained, and all its ill Effects prevented or remedied: And by the second the Air may be made to operate with all its Qualities, and in all Degrees, upon the Organs of Respiration, whereby all the good Effects depending on its Action upon the Respiring Organs, will be attained, and all its ill Effects prevented or remedied, &c.

9. By this Means that Pneumatico-Hydraulick Engine, the Lungs and Respiring Organs may be brought under the Direction and Management of Human Art, in such wise, that it may be regulated and fitted like to a Corn-Mill; whereby the Fluids may be ground finer or coarser, and have their Texture, Crasis, and Temperament altered and repaired at Pleasure, &c.

10. After being taught, by the Observations, Experience, and Authorities of all Ages, that the Air is the principal Cause whereon Animal Life, Health, and Diseases chiefly depend, is it not amazing, that this universal great Remedy, of Nature's Appointment, without which we cannot live one Minute, should be so neglected and set aside, and so little regarded as it is in the present Practice, and that no Attempts have hitherto been made to reduce the same into Use and Practice; when we thus plainly see that the Air, with all its Properties and Qualities, may (by this new Method) like other Medicines, be administered

nister'd in proper Doses and Quantities, and made to operate in all Degrees, Combinations, &c. upon the Body and its Parts ; whilst at the same Time we are industriously ransacking all Nature, and analysing every uselefs Drug, in Expectation of new Remedies ! But all this will prove only a vain delusory Research ; all the whole Legion and Tribe of Artificial Medicines, in Comparison of the Air, and the mighty Effects producible thereby, when judiciously applied, being no more than a *Caput Mortuum*, or Heap of insignificant Rubbish.

Upon the Whole we observe, that the Reasons offered in Support of the new Doctrine and Practices described in this Chapter, appear so conclusive and demonstrative, and the Benefits arising therefrom so great and extensive, that we think it cannot be too strongly recommended to the Notice and Encouragement of the Publick, to promote and cause faithful and impartial Trials and Experiments to be made thereof, &c.

C H A P. IV.

1. **I**N this Chapter the Author gives the Draughts, with the Explanation and Use, of a new Machine and Apparatus, for applying and causing the Air to act, by alternate Strokes and Impulses, externally, upon the whole Body, or its several Parts and Members ; which he proposes as one of the most efficacious Kinds of Exercise for preserving Health, and the Cure of Diseases ; and to open up and prepare the Way for the more readily apprehending its Effects and Benefits, with the Rationale thereof, he observes as follows.

2. Among all the Non-Naturals and Means of Health, none contribute more thereto than Air and Motion, or Exercise. Now the real End, Design, and Effects of all Exercise, of what Kind soever,
is

is to communicate a proper Quantity of Motion to the Animal Solids and Fluids, to constringe, brace, and augment the Moving Force of the former, and to attenuate and keep the latter in a due State of Tenuity, Heat, Motion, and Fluxility, &c. Now the Methods for communicating Motion or Exercise to Animal Bodies are various, either Natural or Artificial : Under the first Head may be reckon'd Aliment, Air, Fire, and the Passions, Walking, &c. and under the second Class may be referred all Medicines and Means for preserving Health and curing Diseases, as Bathing, Riding, Emeticks, Catharticks, Diureticks, Sudorificks, Salivaticks, Frictions, Epispasticks, Cupping, Scarifying, Phlebotomy, Cephalicks, Opiates, Stimuli, &c. However, it may be affirmed of one and all the aforesaid Methods of Exercise, especially those of the second Class, that by whatever Way the Body is exercised, or put in Motion, there is a greater Stress laid upon some Parts than others ; or, which comes to the same Thing, that Motion is not communicated to all Parts equally and alike ; the Consequence whereof will be an unequal and irregular Derivation and Revulsion of the Fluids, to and from particular Parts of the Body ; the Fluids being always determined in the greatest Quantity and Velocity upon the Parts where is the least Resistance : Consequently, that Kind of Exercise whereby Motion is most equally communicated and distributed to all Parts both of the Solids and Fluids, must necessarily be the most natural and best for preserving Health, and the Cure of Diseases, except in particular Cases, wherein Derivation and Revulsion are indicated as necessary. Of which equable uniform Method of communicating Motion or Exercise to a System of Elastick, Contractile, Distractile Tubes, such as all Animal and Vegetable Bodies consist of, Nature hath furnished us with two admirable

mirable perfect Instances of this Kind: The first is that of the Compound Action of the Lungs and Air upon the whole System of the Fluids, as they circulate successively through the Vessels infinitely divaricated throughout the vesicular membranous Substance of the Lungs; by the alternate Systoles and Diastoles whereof, in Inspiration and Expiration, the Blood becomes as it were beat and broken by the successive Strokes of this Organ, as if kneaded in a Trough, or beat with a Pestle in a Mortar, whereby Motion is communicated to all Parts of the Blood equally, and the whole System of the Fluids receives thereby the Benefit of a constant and most perfect Exercise, from the Motion that becomes thus impressed thereon by the Air and Lungs, as it circulates through the Pulmonary Vessels, whereby it becomes as it were wire-drawn, dissolved, and attenuated, and all its Component Principles perfectly united and fitted for the Offices of the Œconomy; without which constant Motion and Exercise, which the Blood receives from the Organs of Respiration, it would immediately loose its Fluidity, and become wholly unfit for the Offices of Life, &c. The second Example of perfect Exercise which Nature presents us with, is likewise derived from the same universal Cause and Instrument the Air, considered as applied to and operating externally upon the whole Body. For as the Atmosphere is subject to perpetual Changes, as to all its Properties and Qualities, it becomes thereby a constant Cause of communicating Motion or Exercise to Animal Bodies, (which are ever immersed in this turbulent restless Element) so that by the continual variable Oscillations thereof they become subject to a perpetual Motion of Systole and Dyastole, from the Surface inwards to the Axis or Center, and from the Center outwards to the Circumference, and so during the whole Period of Life:

Life: And this universal oscillatory Motion of Contracting and Expanding, thus continually impressed upon Animal Bodies, by the Atmosphere, is so far from being prejudicial, that it is absolutely necessary to the Production, Preservation, and Continuance of all Degrees of Life, in Animals, Vegetables, Artificial Fire, &c. without which natural equable Motion or Exercise, thus continually communicated by the Air and Elementary Fire, our own and all other Bodies would become arrested, and fall into a State of absolute Rest, Inactivity, or Death. Now, in both the Examples of Exercise here produced, it is to be observed, that our Bodies become exercised, or have Motion given thereto by the Air, which being an Elastick Fluid, endowed with such changeable Qualities, becomes, on all these Accounts, the most proper Instrument for communicating Motion and Exercise to an Elastick, Vascular, Compressible Machine, such as are all Animal and Vegetable Bodies.

3. The Author having laid down the two remarkable Cases aforesaid, wherein Providence makes Use of Air as the most proper Means for communicating Motion or Exercise to Animal Bodies, as the most perfect Pattern and Model for our Imitation; conformable to this most perfect Plan of Nature, he proceeds to give the Draught, Description, and Use of a New Machine, by which the Air may be alternately and successively taken off, and laid upon the Body, with all Degrees both of Pressure and Velocity, &c. By which successive alternate Strokes and Impulses of the Air upon the Body, the same will become thereupon subject to a successive universal Motion of Systole and Dyastole, from the Surface inwards to the Axis of the Body, and from the Axis outwards to the Surface; and that with all assigned Degrees of Pressure and Velocity,

city, and with any Interval or Space of Time between the Strokes, &c.

The intended Brevity of this Paper not admitting to give a fuller Detail of this Chapter, we refer the Reader to the original Treatise, where he will find this Subject handled and exemplified at large, illustrated with many new and useful Observations, wherein we think the Author hath made good what he proposed in the Argument and Title prefixed to this Chapter.

CH A P. V.

1. **T**HE Author in this Chapter considers the Mechanical Effects of the Air upon Animal Bodies, when the same becomes strongly excited and put into a tremulous oscillatory Motion; wherein he proposes some general Principles for constructing a Sounding or Phonick Machine or Building, for putting the Air into such a Motion; shewing what surprizing great Effects may be produced thereby in the Animal Solids and Fluids by the Air, when thus modified, and put into such a particular Kind of Motion; which being properly collected and applied, either to the whole Body, or its Members, will prove one of the most natural, universal, efficacious Kinds of Exercise, both for preserving Health and curing Diseases, &c.

2. He further demonstrates, that by the variable Action of the Air and Elementary Fire, all Animal and other Bodies are ever subject, more or less, to such an universal, vibratory, tremulous Motion, without which no Animal or Vegetable could exist; and then proceeds to shew how the Air may have such a vibrative oscillatory Motion impressed thereon in all Degrees, and how the same may be applied for communicating the like Motion in all Degrees to the Body, and its several Regions and

Members; whereby the whole System, both Solids and Fluids, will become intimately and thoroughly agitated in all their most minute Parts; which Motion may be raised to such a Pitch and Strength, as to become communicated and sensibly felt by every Part; by which quick strong Tremors and Pulsations, thus swiftly and instantaneously propagated throughout the whole Substance of the Body, both Solids and Fluids will receive the most universal perfect Exercise, both for preserving Health and curing Diseases. That such must be the salutary good Effects following from such a Motion, is demonstrable from the Mechanism and Structure of the Human Body, as being an Elastick, Vascular, Compressible Machine, and from the Laws relating to Percussion, Pressure, Impulse, and the Communication of Motion in the Elastick Bodies; as also from the Effects of Musick upon the Animal Machine, which, like to a most exquisite string'd musical Instrument, becomes extremely susceptible and retentive of such a vibrative undulatory Motion. The great Efficacy and Influence of this kind of Motion in the Air, is farther demonstrable from hence, that the Existence Life and Continuance of Artificial or Culinary Fire is wholly owing to it.

The Subject of this Chapter, with the Observations and Arguments offer'd in Support thereof, appear to contain a very extensive Plan and solid Foundation for making many useful Improvements in the Practice of Physick; for a more full Account whereof we refer to the original Treatise.

C H A P. VI.

THIS Chapter contains a new Method for constructing Vapour-Baths, both Humid and Dry, and of applying them either Universally to the whole Body, or only Topically and Partially, for

for Fumigating and Bathing some particular Region or Member thereof, wherein also is shewn how that universal Principle, the Pressure of the Air and other Fluids, may be apply'd, in all Degrees, to all Parts of the Body, with the great and good Effects that may be produced thereby in the Animal Solids and Fluids, when judiciously apply'd by proper Machines; for a more full Account whereof we refer to the Original.

C H A P. VII.

THIS Chapter contains some general Observations on the Structure Mechanism and Morbid Affections of the Stomach, with its Appendage, the Intestines and Chylopoietick Organs, shewing this primary compound Gland and Organ, when disorder'd or incapacitated for doing its Duty, to be the true original Cause and Source where all or most of the catholick capital Diseases have their first Rise and Growth, as the Colic, Iliac-Passion, Ruptures, Tympanies, Emphysemas, Consumptions, Asthmas, Dropsies, Atrophies, Apoplexies, Epilepsies, Vertigos, Hydrocephalies, Palsies, Inflammations of the Brain and its Membranes, Phrensies, Manias, with the Hypochondriac and Hysterick Affections, &c. wherein is proposed a new mechanical Method for curing or giving Relief to the above Cases. The Subject of this Chapter we think deserves a thorough experimental Enquiry, &c.

C H A P. VIII.

THIS Chapter contains a new mechanical Method and Apparatus for the Cure of Cutaneous Diseases, and external local Maladies, as Wounds, Ulcers, Inflammations, Gangrenes, Hemorrhages,

morrhages, Venereal Distempers, &c. by means of Air, &c. apply'd by proper Machines to the Parts affected, and made to operate thereon with their Properties and Qualities regulated and adjust'd in all Degrees and Combinations, as answers best with the present Indications, &c. This Chapter contains several new Observations and Practices, which appear to promise much Good in the Practice of Healing; for a more full Account we refer to the Original.

C H A P. IX.

1. **T**HE Author in this Chapter proposes the Construction, Draught, Description, and Use of a new Instrument or Pyrometer, for measuring the most minute Alterations in the Dimensions of Animal and other Bodies, either by the different Gravity, Elasticity, Pressure, Heat, Cold, Humidity, Dryness, &c. of the Atmosphere, or from Motion, Rest, Sickness, Evacuation, Retention, Passions, Eating, Fasting, or any other Causes whatever, with its Use for measuring Alterations in the Animal Solids and Fluids, as also in the Pendulums of Clocks, occasioned by any of the aforesaid Causes; by which Instrument one may discover the comparative State and Force of the Solids, with respect to the Degrees of their Constriction and Relaxation, with the relative State of the Fluids, as to the Degrees of their Rarefaction and Condensation; and as such will serve as a very useful Monitor, whereby a Person may form a tolerable exact Judgment of the comparative State and moving Force of his Solids and Fluids, and receive timely previous Notice therefrom, when the Animal Machine and Balance of Health begins to lean and verge towards a distemper'd State, from whence proper Diagnosticks, Prognosticks, and Indications

Indications may be deduced to direct to Practice, both for the Prevention and Cure of Diseases.

2. The Author begins with observing that Air, elementary Fire, and Cold, exercise an universal Empire and Dominion over all Terrestrial Bodies, by which their Generation Growth and Corruption are brought about, all Bodies, both Solid and Fluid, being, by the continual variable Action of those three general Causes, kept in a perpetual fluxionary State with regard to their Dimensions, which are always, either expanding and rarefying, as the Degrees of Heat increase, or contracting and condensing, as the Cold increases, or as the Degrees of Heat decrease, &c.

3. He observes further, that no Instrument or Pyrometer hitherto invented, is capable of measuring the fluxionary Increments and Decrements, produced in the Dimensions of Bodies, by the Influence of the said general Causes, by reason those Instruments or Pyrometers are subject themselves to the very same Alterations in their own Dimensions; of which he gives for instance, the case of the lengthning and shortning of the Pendulum, the just Quantity whereof cannot be measur'd or discover'd by any Instrument hitherto invented, and can only be done by the Instrument here proposed, or something founded upon the same Principles.

4. He further observes, that to solve this Problem, there is nothing more required, only that the Instrument or Pyrometer have some one fix'd permanent immutable Point, from which its Motion is always to commence and to be computed, and shews a Method how it may be done, &c. This Chapter proposes several new and curious Experiments and Essays, that may be made with this new Instrument upon all Bodies, Solid, Fluid, Animal, Vegetable, and Metallick, &c. for a

more ample Detail whereof we refer to the original Treatise.

Air, Elementary-Fire, Water, and Motion, being the general Agents of the Universe, by which all the Changes in Animal Bodies, &c. tending either to Health or Diseases, are produced, and as this Treatise contains certain new Methods and Machines, whereby the said general Remedies and Agents of Nature may be apply'd, and made to operate with all their Powers Properties and Qualities, in all Degrees Combinations Times Seasons, &c. upon the human Body and its Parts, as also upon the Organs of Respiration, whereby all the Intentions and Alterations wanting in the Animal Solids and Fluids, for preserving Health and curing Diseases, may be effected in a more safe perfect manner, than by any artificial internal Remedies: All which being fully demonstrable from the Institutions of Nature, the Laws of Motion, and the Animal Œconomy, we are of Opinion, this Treatise contains the most perfectly extensive Plan, from which, when duly put in Execution, we may reasonably expect the greatest Discoveries and Improvements in the Practice of Physick, which is at present involv'd in the utmost Obscurity and Uncertainty; and, as such, nothing can merit the Attention and Encouragement of the Parliament more, who, it is hoped, as being the Guardians of whatever concerns the Health and Lives of the Subject, will promote and cause an impartial and experimental Enquiry to be made into the Truth of this new Practice of Physick, as it promises so much Good to Mankind.

A R T I C L E XVIII.

A Dissertation on the Origin of the Worship the Egyptians paid to Animals. By the Abbè Banier. Read in the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

EGYPT has always been regarded as the Theatre of the grossest and most ridiculous Idolatry. To pay a religious worship to Animals, and even the vilest Insects, to place them in their Temples, and feed them carefully, to punish with Death those who killed them, to embalm them and raise them magnificent Tombs, are Excesses of Superstition with which the Egyptians have been reproached at all Times, and which afforded the Greeks and Romans a Subject for the severest Satire against them. I think it needless to trouble this Assembly with a pompous Detail of Authorities to prove so known a Truth; for as Juvenal says to his Friend,

*Well is it known on Egypt's fertile Shores,
What Idols Superstition blind adores!
Yet tell me, Friend, did ever Beast incline
To pay to Mortal Honours so divine?
Or kneeling sue his Goodness to obtain,
The clement Seasons, or propitious Rain?
No—but the Brute astonish'd has survey'd,
The Man adore the Image which he made;
Has on the Altars seen a Monkey plac'd,
With all the Pomp of wild Devotion grac'd:
Or view'd whole Nations on the Banks of Nile,
Raise Incense to the sacred Crocodile.*

To this Authority of Juvenal I might add those of Virgil and Martial, and, above all, Lucian, who

in many Parts of his Dialogues has scattered the most delicate Raillery against the Superstition of the *Egyptians*. Indeed, if this Charge had been only brought against them by the Poets and Satyrists, one might imagine, that they fought, without a strict Regard to Truth, to render that Nation ridiculous. But we find the gravest Authors, as well Historians as Philosophers, agree in this Point. *Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plutarch*, and several others, leave no room to doubt of this; and if their Testimony was less clear than it is, the Urns lately received from *Grand Cairo*, and opened in this Assembly, containing the Bones of Birds embalmed, and consecrated by that to the *Egyptian* Superstition, are incontestable Proofs of what we have said; for we may observe with Pleasure, that if the Testimony of the above cited Authors has contributed to give Light to these Monuments of Antiquity, the Monuments in their Turn serve to confirm what these Authors had advanced.

On the other Hand we must acknowledge, no People amongst the Antients were more wise and enlightned than the *Egyptians*. The *Greeks* and *Romans*, who considered as *Barbarians* all other Nations, constantly excepted the *Egyptians* from so unjust a Censure, and their most celebrated Authors are full of Encomiums on the Politeness and Learning of that People. They confess, that from this Country they derive their Knowledge, their Arts, and Mysteries of Religion. Here their great Sages *Orpheus, Homer, Pythagoras, Plato*, acquired that profound and extensive Literature, that is discover'd in their Writings.

I shall not at present undertake to reconcile these contrary Ideas. It is not the only Instance we have of Mankind falling into opposite Extremes: Nor shall I attempt to vindicate the *Egyptians* at the Expence
of

of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who may be justly reproached with Excesses as monstrous and absurd. St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* tells them, how ill it becomes them to ridicule other Nations for Superstition, while they worshipped Pismires, and veild their ridiculous Devotion with a Fable as impious as it was foolish. I rather chuse to examine the Authorities alledged, which are not so conclusive as they are imagined to be. We may a little distrust the Authors I have mentioned. The *Greeks* and *Romans* had but a slender Knowledge of the *Egyptian* Mysteries, which the Priests of that Nation concealed from them as profane Persons, whom Curiosity only led to visit their Country. Nor are they perhaps more to be credited on the Article in Question, than in relation to the *Jews*, whom they accused of worshipping the Swine, because the Mosaic Law prohibited the Flesh of that Animal, and whom they also charged with adoring the Head of an Ass, the Figure of which (as they said) was kept in the Sanctuary, of solid Gold.

*Judeus licet et porcinum numen adorat
Et cilli summas advocet auriculas.*

Let us try to penetrate the *Egyptian* Temples, and see if it be possible to discover the Mysteries of their Religion. And here, the Figure of *Harpoocrates*, with his Finger on his Mouth, seems to hint to us, that these Mysteries concealed something, which it was not permitted to every one to know. This gave me a Suspicion, that the Worship they paid to Animals, was neither so gross nor ridiculous as it has always been conceived. I even shall endeavour to prove that it was a necessary Consequence of the Principles of their Theology.

In the earliest Ages Mankind adored but one eternal almighty Being, the true God. *Noah* endeavoured to preserve in his Family the Worship
his

his Fathers had paid, but it was soon changed, especially in the Descendants of *Cham*. These being extremely corrupted, lost the true Idea of the Deity, and began to attach themselves to sensible Objects. As what seemed most perfect and useful to Mankind claimed their Homage, it is easy to conceive, by these Characters, that the Sun was the first Object of Idolatry. From adoring this great Luminary, they passed to pay the same Honours to the Stars, especially the Planets, whose Motions and Influences were more sensible; in a word, they soon came to worship the whole *Host of Heaven*, as we find *Moses* and the Prophets tell them in the sacred Writings. They next deify'd the Elements, the Rivers and Mountains; and at last they consider'd Nature itself, or the whole World, as a Divinity, which the *Assyrians* honoured under the Name of *Belus*, the *Arcadians* by that of *Pan*, and the *Egyptians* (to name no more) by that of *Hammon*; and as if the World were too great to be ruled by one Power, they assigned a particular Deity to each Part, that he might govern it the more at Leisure and with less Trouble. Thus Nature was worshipped in Detail. The Earth by the Names of *Rhea* and *Cybele*, the Fire by those of *Vulcan* and *Vesta*, the Water by the Apellations of *Neptune* and *Ibetis*, and the rest in the same Manner. When the first Step is made in Darkness and Ignorance, the farther we advance we go the farther astray. Thus we see Superstition and Idolatry were by degrees carry'd to the most horrible Excess. Every thing was deify'd; and not to mention the Worship paid to Men, sullied with Crimes, the *Egyptians* in the Case before us were charged with carrying their Idolatry even so far as to adore Animals and Insects. But if we enquire of what Nature was the Worship they paid them, or whether they regarded them as real Divinities,

we find the ancient Authors have not been thoroughly clear on this Subject. *Strabo* says only, that there were certain Animals, who were worshipped thro' all *Egypt*, such as the Ox, the Dog, the Hawk, and the Ibis or Stork, and that there were others, who were only deify'd in particular Cities : Thus the Inhabitants of *Sais* and *Thebes* honoured the Sheep; those of *Lycopolis*, the Wolf; those of *Hermopolis*, the Ape. *Herodotus* adds, that while one Species of Animals in some Towns received divine Honours, in others they were had in Execration. Thus the *Mendesiens*, who worshipped the Goat, sacrificed the Sheep; while the People of *Thebes*, who adored *Jupiter Ammon* under the Figure of a Ram, offered him the Goat as a Victim. Hence arose religious Wars between Cities; owing to the Policy of one of their Kings, who, by these superstitious Quarrels, sought to amuse them, and divert them from civil Conspiracies against the State. *Diodorus Siculus*, not contented with informing us of the History of the *Egyptian* Worship, assigns several Reasons for it, the greater part Fabulous. The most plausible is that drawn (a) from the Usefulness of the Animals themselves. *Herodotus* had before him hinted this, in speaking of the particular Veneration the *Egyptians* had for the *Ibis*, (b) because that in the Spring (says that Author) there usually came out of *Arabia* into *Egypt* a great Number of winged Serpents, who would have done considerable Damage to the Country, if these Birds had not destroyed them : *Cicero* confirms this Sentiment of *Herodotus*. “ The
 “ *Egyptians* (says he) whom we ridicule so much,
 “ have only paid their Veneration to Animals in
 “ proportion to the Benefits received from them,
 “ and if they deify'd the *Ibis*, it is on account of
 “ his destroying Serpents. I could extend this
 “ Remark

(a) *Diodor.* l. 1. (b) *Loc. Cit.*

“ Remark to the Advantages they received from
 “ the Ichneumon, Crocodile, and Cat, but I would
 “ not be tedious on this Subject (c).

I am willing to believe that this Reason so often mentioned by the Ancients, was one Cause of the great Progress the Worship of Animals made in *Egypt*; but I cannot think it gave Rise to it. I am sensible indeed that Gratitude and Fear have introduced several Deities into the World, nor am I ignorant of the great Advantages Men receive from several Animals, of which *Gerard Vossius*, in his Treatise of Idolatry, has given a very minute Account; but could this Reason alone ever suffice to change Monsters and Insects into so many Deities? Let us not impute to a wise and polite People an Absurdity they were never guilty of. All Veneration is not of the religious Kind, much less a true Adoration, nor is every Object placed in the Temples for publick Respect to be admitted in the Rank of Divinities; allowing this, I am of Opinion, that the Worship paid by the *Egyptian* Priests to Animals was purely relative, and terminated in the Gods, of whom these Animals were the Symbols or Representations.

To shew that I do not advance this without Ground, I shall support it by demonstrative Proofs. It is well known, that amongst the *Egyptians* the Ox was the Symbol of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and that these Deities were no other than the Sun and the Moon. Hence the Worship paid to the Oxen *Mnèvis* and *Apis*, of which the former was consecrated to the Sun, (d) and the latter to the Moon,

as

(c) *Ipsi qui irridentur Egyptii numen Belluam nisi ob aliquam utilitatem consecraverunt, velut lbes maximam vim serpentium conficiunt. Possum de Ichneumonum utilitate, de Crocodilorum de Felium dicere, sed nolo esse longior. Cicero de Nat. Decr.*

(d) *De Abst. Lib. 2.*

as we learn from *Porphyry*, *Elian*, and other Authors. (e) *Herodotus* speaking of the Devotion the *Mendesians* paid to *Pan*, says, that they represented him under the Figure of a Goat, for mysterious Reasons; tho' they knew that he was like the other Gods. *Diodorus Siculus* has explained this Mystery, which *Herodotus* concealed; he tells us, that by the Type of this Animal these People adored the Fecundity of Nature, represented by the God *Pan*. We now see that *Isis* and *Osiris* and Nature under the Name of *Pan*, not Oxen and Goats, were the real Objects of the Veneration or Worship paid to those Animals by the Inhabitants of *Memphis*, *Heliopolis* and *Mendès*.

(f) *Plutarch* judiciously observes, that the natural Vigilance of Dogs gave Occasion to consecrate these Animals to the most cunning and artful of the Gods; or, which is the same Thing, they depicted *Mercury* with the Head of this Beast, on Account of these Qualities. *Ideo Mercurius capite canino pingitur, quia nihil est cane sagacius*. This Instance furnishes us with the true Reason of this great Article of the *Egyptian* Theology, with Respect to the Consecration of Animals, and proves that the Worship paid to them was not immediate or personal, but terminated in the Deities they represented. Thus we find the Inhabitants of *Troas*, who had a singular Veneration for Rats, because they had, on a remarkable Occasion, gnaw'd the Bowstrings of their Enemies, ascribed all the Honours to the *Sminthian Apollo*, who, as they supposed, had sent them: This we are told by *St. Clement of Alexandria* (g). However, to spare many Citations to the same Purpose, I think *Herodotus* puts the Question beyond Dispute by a Distinction he mentions, that when the
Egyptians

(e) Lib. 1. (f) De Iside.

(g) Animadv. adv. Gentes.]

Egyptians offered their Vows to these sacred Animals, they address'd their Prayers to the Gods to whom they were consecrated; and the same Author informs us of the Nature of these Vows, by telling us they consisted of a Sum of Money for the support of these Animals. *Diodorus Siculus* says the same Thing, these are his Words; "The *Egyptians* offered their Vows to the Gods for the Cure of their Sick Children, and when they were recovered they carry'd them to the Temple, (i) where having cut off their Hair, they put it in a Scale, with a Sum of Money of the same Weight, which was presented to the Ministers, who had the Care of the holy Animals." This enables us to account for a Piece of Money found in the embalmed Paw of an Ape, which is seen in the curious Cabinet of Mr. *Faucault*, and which no doubt was the offering of some new recovered Person, who not finding the Minister of the Temple, placed the Gift in the Paw of the Animal. (k) *Lucan* is therefore in the Right, when after ridiculing the *Egyptians*, who served up several of their Gods at *Cæsar's* Table, he adds, that the Priests being questioned by that Prince about the Worship paid to Animals, (l) assign'd mysterious Reasons for it, and gave him to understand, that under these Figures they honoured the Deities they represented. To conclude, to these they addressed their Prayers, while the Offerings were destined for the Support of the sacred Animals.

But it may be asked, why they should chuse Animals to represent the Gods, and why on this Occasion some Animals were preferred to others? *Plutarch* gives us this general Answer, that it is because of the particular Relation certain Animals have to the Deity; for (says he) the Image of Divinity shines out in them, as that of the Sun appears in

(i) Lib. 2.

(k) Lib. 1.

(l) *Pharsal.* lib. x.

in the Drops of Rain, that are gilded with his Rays. Thus the Crocodile, having no Tongue, is considered as the Symbol of the Deity, who, without speaking a Word, imprints the Laws of Wisdom and Equity silently on the Heart. In effect (adds the same Author) if universal Nature herself is but one Mirror or Glass, in which the Sun of Deity appears reflected with all his Attributes, the case is yet more true with Respect to living Creatures, nor was there ever Statue, tho' ever so Masterly, could express the Supreme Being, so well as the smallest organised Body.

I shall to this excellent Reason of *Plutarch* subjoin three others, drawn from the Astrology, History, and Theology of the *Egyptians*.

I. Mankind in all Ages almost have represented the Celestial Sphere, and chiefly the Signs of the *Zodiac* and some of the Constellations, by the Figures of different Animals. *Lucian* informs us in particular, that this was done by the *Egyptians*, who, he tells us, having divided the Heaven into twelve Parts, marked each Constellation with the Representation of some Animal. Behold now the Signs of the *Zodiac*, distinguished by these Resemblances, substituted in the Place of Stars, which, as I have observed before, were the earliest Objects of Idolatry. The same Author, enlarging on the Subject, adds, that the *Egyptians* worshipped the Ox *Apis* in Memory of the Bull in the *Zodiac*, and that in the Oracle consecrated to him, they gave their Predictions with a regard to this Sign. The *Africans* (continues he) that is the *Lybians* did the same with Respect to the Ram, in Memory of *Jupiter Ammon* (m). These who are versed in the Antiquities

(m) The Reader may consult P. Krieger upon the other Animals of the Sphere of the *Egyptians*, which represented the Deities of that ancient People. See the 2d Tome of his *Oedipus*, pag. 160 and following.

Antiquities of these People know, that their antient Method of Writing, or communicating their Ideas, was by Hieroglyphics, as *Lucan* describes it.

Sanchoniathon, in *Eusebius*, (*n*) relates, that this manner of Writing was taught them by the antient *Mercury*, who, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was cotemporary with *Osiris* (*o*); and *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* informs us, that it was peculiarly applied to Astronomy, of which he brings an Example, in their representing the Sun by the Figure of a Crab, and the Obliquity of the *Zodiac* by the Folds of a Serpent. There remains then no doubt, but that it was the Celestial Gods they adored under the Symbols of the Animals that represented them. I am not Ignorant that the Vulgar did not always carry their Views so far as these Divinities, and that their Worship often went no farther than the External Symbols themselves, that it was from these they demanded Relief, and to these they addressed their Vows. But the present Question is not about the Religion of the People, but that of the Priests and Sages of *Egypt*; for I question if there was ever a Religion in the World free from Reproach, if considered by the Practice of the Vulgar, who in all Ages have lean'd to Error and Superstition.

II. I found my second Reason on the ancient History of *Egypt*, which relates how the Gods formerly, persecuted by *Typhon*, were forced to conceal themselves under the Figures of different Animals. Now nothing was more proper than such a Tradition, to establish the Worship we have been treating of, and no doubt these Animals were treated with high Respect, and Veneration, for fear

(*n*) *Præp. Evangl. lib. 1.* (*o*) *Lib. 1. Stran. 1. 5.*

fear of violating the Divinities they belonged to. The only Objection to this Conjecture is, that the Fable of *Typhon* is *Greek*, and only related by the *Greek* and *Roman* Writers. But omitting that most of the Fables of these two Nations were borrowed from the *Egyptians*, and, in particular, that the Battle of the Giants is only a disfigured Tradition of the History of *Typhon* and *Osiris*, do we not see in *Egypt* Monuments raised on this Subject, of much older Date than the Fables of *Greece*? Cities built, and a publick Worship established, in Honour of the Animals whose Figures the Gods are said to have assumed? For if we learn from *Ovid* that *Jupiter* transform'd himself into a Ram,

— *Duxque gregis fit Jupiter, unde recurvis*
Nunc quoque formatis Lybis est cum cornibus
 Ammon. Ovid. Met. lib. V.

We also find that under the same Figure he was adored in the celebrated Temple he had in *Lybia*. That *Diana* was changed to a Cat is a Tradition of which the City of *Bubastus* was an authentic Monument, being called so after the Name of the Goddess, and where Cats were had in religious Veneration. The Town of *Mendes* affords the same Testimony with respect to the Metamorphosis of *Bacchus*, (or, as some say, *Pan*) into a Goat. The Transformation of *Juno* or *Isis* into a Cow, appears from the Honours paid her at *Memphis*, under that Symbol. The *Syrians* abstained from Fish, on account of *Venus* assuming that Disguise. The Respect paid by the *Egyptians* to the Bird *Ibis*, was because *Mercury* had taken that Form. Nor shall we believe, that the *Egyptian* Priests learned from the *Greeks* this Mythology and the Worship founded on it, that they modelled the

System of their Religion by the Ideas of Strangers, and gave their Cities Names according to the Circumstances of these Fables: is it not more probable to suppose that the *Greeks* and *Romans* derived their Fables from the Religion of the *Egyptians*?

III. The third Reason, which is a Consequence of the preceeding, is drawn from the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or the eternal Transmigration of Souls into different Bodies. It is unnecessary here to enquire into the Origin of this Doctrine, which *Pythagoras* brought into *Italy*, about the Time of the LXIId Olympiad, or thereabouts. But whether he taught it in the literal Sense, or (as Mr. *Dacier* † ingeniously is of Opinion) in a moral and allegorical Way, it is certain he was not the Inventor of it, but received it from the *Egyptian* Priests, with whom (as *Diogenes Laertius* reports) he continued a long Time, to be instructed in their Religion and Mysteries.

Herodotus confirms this; “ the *Egyptians* (says that Historian) are the first who taught the Immortality of the Soul, and that after Death it passes successively thro’ the different Bodies of Beasts, Fishes, and Birds, whence it returns to assume once more the human Form, finishing this Circuit in 300 Years. There are (adds he) some *Greeks* who have propagated this Doctrine as if it was their own, I know their Names, but chuse to conceal them.” (q) It is then certain that this Doctrine took its Rise in *Egypt*, and it had two great Advantages attending it, 1. That it served as a Foundation for the great and important Belief of the Immortality of the Soul. 2. That by teaching the Transmigration of the Soul
into

† *Dacier's Life of Pythagoras.*

(q) *Herodot. Lib. 2.*

into different Bodies, either noble or despicable, according to the Merits of the Person, they render'd Virtue amiable and Vice odious: Besides which, this Doctrine contributed not a little to the Respect and Worship afterwards paid to these Animals; who came to be considered as the Vehicles of the Souls of those Persons, who had gained Esteem for their Virtues, and by their Abilities done the greatest Services to the State.

Such were the Reasons that led the *Egyptians* to establish the Worship of Animals: a Worship, properly speaking, only subordinate and relative, of which these Animals were not the Objects, but which terminated in the Divinities themselves, who were venerable even under the meanest Symbols.

I should here trace the Beginning of a Practice, whose real Motives I have been discovering, but I believe it difficult to assign a precise Date to so antient a Superstition. The Travellers who send us Urns and Mummies from that Country, give us little Knowledge of the Antiquity of the Tombs or Monuments where they find them repositèd; and all their strictest Researches to find the Date of them is in vain. *Plutarch*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Herodotus*, are but modern Authors with respect to so antient a Custom, and lived at too great a Distance from the Times wherein it begun, to give us any Light. Besides, that the Primitive Ages succeeding the Deluge, and in which the Posterity of *Noah* settled in *Egypt*, are absolutely unknown to the *Greek* and *Roman* Writers.

Those of the Moderns who, from the Fragments of Antiquity, have the best cleared up the Confusion of the *Egyptian Dynasties*, and justly rejected, as fabulous, that innumerable Series of Years given to the Reign of the Gods and Demi-Gods, all agree that *Cham* and his Son *Mesraim* had *Egypt* for their Share, which Land the Scripture calls the

Land of *Mesraim*; and where they reign'd successively. *Mesraim* after his Father's Death had him deify'd, and was so beloved by his People, that he received from them the same Honours at his Decease. This Prince is the same with *Menes*, who (as I shall show in a particular Dissertation) is no other than *Osiris* himself. Now it is well known that *Osiris* was the great Deity of *Egypt*, symbolized by the Ox, who, on that account was the Animal the most highly respected by the *Egyptians*. The Worship paid to Animals is therefore as old as the Time of *Osiris*. To be more particular as to this Date, it is certain, that this Doctrine was established in *Egypt*, at the Time the *Israelites* were in Bondage there, which proves it must even then have been ancient, since any System of Religion requires a long Time to be universally received in a large Country. What happen'd between *Pharaoh* and *Moses* proves what I advance. This Monarch, in order to be delivered from the Plagues he suffered by the Hand of God, intreats *Moses* to intercede for him, and allows him to Sacrifice to the God of *Israel* after his Manner. *Moses* replies, the Thing was impossible, nor could the *Hebrews* dare in Presence of the *Egyptians* to offer Victims, for which that People had a religious Veneration, because their Sacrifices would to them appear abominable, and might incense the People to kill them. He therefore begs they might retire to the Wilderness, there to Sacrifice according to their Laws. [And *Moses* said, it is not meet so to do, for we shall Sacrifice the Abomination of the *Egyptians* to the Lord our God: Lo, shall we Sacrifice the Abomination of the *Egyptians* before their Eyes, and will they not Stone us? *Exodus* viii. 26.] It is not amiss to remark here, that the *Hebrew* Legislator seems to have given so great a Number of Precepts to the *Jews*, chiefly in Opposition to the Impious and Idolatrous

latrous Customs of the *Egyptians*. Without entering into further Particulars, I shall only say, *Maimonides* (r) remarks, that *Moses* appointing the *Jews* to offer three Sorts of Victims, viz. Rams, Oxen, and Goats, was with a View to render contemptible in their Eyes, the Worship paid to these Animals by the Inhabitants of *Thebes*, *Memphis*, and *Mendex*. Thus *Manetho* (s) assures us, *Moses* directed his Laws in Opposition to those of the *Egyptian* Priests, enjoining his People to eat the Flesh of those Animals that were by that Nation held in greatest Veneration. *Tacitus* was aware of this Truth, when he says, speaking of the *Jews*, "That they sacrificed the Ram in Contempt of *Hammon* (t), and the Ox in Ridicule of the *Egyptian Apis*."

With all these Precautions however *Moses* was not able to erase the strong Propensity the *Jews* had contracted in *Egypt* to the Worship of Animals, and which discovered itself on many subsequent Occasions. The golden Calf of *Aaron* and those of *Jeroboam* were formed from the Model and in Imitation of the Ox *Apis*. *Philo* the *Jew* says it expressly, and after him *St. Jerom*: † Upon which it is proper to remark, that when *Moses*, speaking of the Calf of *Aaron*, says, that he fashioned the Gold with a graving Tool, he means, that this High Priest graved on the Idol the Marks which distinguished the Ox *Apis* from other Images of the Kind: *Philo* also observes, that the Feast celebrated by the *Jews* at the Dedication of this Idol, exactly resembled that which the *Egyptians* kept in Ho-

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(r) More Nevochim. part 3. ch. 46.
Appion. (s) Tacit. Hist. l. 5.

(t) Lib. 1. contra

† Videtur mihi idcirco et Populus *Israel* in solitudine fecisse sibi caput vituli quod coleret; et *Jeroboam* Filius *Nabath* vitulos aureos fabricatus est, quod in *Egypto* dedicerant. *Απὸ τοῦ Μωϋσῆ*, qui sub Figurâ Boum coluntur, esse Deos, hoc in sua superstitione servarent. Hieronymus in Oseam.

452 *The WORKS of the LEARNED*, Art. 19.
nour of *Apis*; in which, according to *Suidas*, they eat and drank, and pass'd the Day in Rejoicings, for having found the God. See *Exod.* xxxii. v. 6. Thus we see the Worship of Animals established in *Egypt* in the Time of *Moses*, which is all that we can say with Certainty. The History of *Egypt*, preceding this Time, is lost in the dark Gloom of Antiquity, and only affords to the Curious, Matter for fruitless Enquiry and uncertain Conjectures.

A R T I C L E X I X .

Nothing can be a properer Embellishment of an *History of the Works of the Learned*, than Memoirs of the Literati. Of this Class, the present Age has produced none more celebrated, or more worthy of Fame, than that most excellent and accomplished Person, HERMAN BOERHAAVE, Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine, Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic, and also of Botany and Chemistry, in the University of *Leyden*, President of the Chirurgical College in that City, Fellow of the Royal Society in *London*, and of the Royal Academy at *Paris*.

This great Man was born at *Voorhout*, a small Village in *Holland*, on the last of *December*, 1668, about One in the Morning. His Father, JAMES BOERHAAVE, was Minister of the Place, vers'd in the *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin* Languages, and excell'd in the Knowledge of History: his Behaviour in private Life, and towards his Family, was highly commendable. Our HERMAN lost his Mother at five Years of Age; whereupon his Father married again, and by this second Venter had two Sons and four Daughters: JAMES, the elder of these Sons, who

who was designed for Physic, is an eminent Divine at *Leyden*, and MARK, the younger, at *Breda*.

HERMAN was intended by his Father for Divinity. With this View he himself initiated him in the preparatory Parts of Literature; and with such Success, that at Eleven he was expert in the *Greek* and *Latin* Grammars, ready at translating and writing *Latin*, and not ignorant of Philosophy.

At the Age of Twelve he was seiz'd with a malignant Ulcer in his Thigh, that, for five Years together, interrupted his Studies; and of which at length he cured himself, after all the Efforts of Physicians had proved ineffectual, by fomenting it with Salt and Urine: an Incident that inspired his first Thoughts of studying Physic.

In 1682, being then Fourteen, he was sent to *Leyden* for the Benefit of his Health and Learning. Here his Progress was so rapid, that he was qualified for the University in a very short Space; though some Family Embarrassments determin'd him to defer his Removal thither some Months longer than had been otherwise needful. Upon his Admission, at the Age of Sixteen, he made a quick Proficiency in Logic, the Use of the Globes, Natural Philosophy, Metaphysics, and Ethics, in the Knowledge of the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, in Rhetoric, Chronology, and Geography, and likewise in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* Languages; labouring incessantly at the same time to understand the Sacred Writings in their Originals.

In 1687, he applied to the Mathematics; and easily acquired a competent Knowledge of Geometry, Trigonometry, and Algebra.

In 1689, the twenty-first of his Age, he gave a Specimen of his Erudition and Eloquence, in an Academic Oration, on this Topic, "That the Doctrine of EPICURUS, concerning the chief Good,

454 *The WORKS of the LEARNED*, Art 19,
“ was well understood by *Cicero* ;” for which a
Golden Medal was conferred upon him.

In 1690, he took a Degree in Philosophy. The
Subject of his Thesis was “ the distinct Natures of
“ the Mind and Body.” In this Performance he re-
futed the Systems of *Epicurus*, *Hobs*, and *Spinoza*.

Notwithstanding he had thus qualified himself
for entering into Orders, and that the little For-
tune left him was almost exhausted, yet, fearing
to rush immaturity into the Sacred Function, he
chose rather, by teaching Mathematics, to support
the further Prosecution of his Theological Studies.
This Undertaking increased his Reputation, and
may be said to have also laid the Foundation of his
future Fortune, by occasioning his Acquaintance with
Mr. *John Vanden Berg*, Burgomaster of *Leyden*.
This worthy Magistrate recommended him to the
Curators, to compare the *Vossian* Manuscripts (pur-
chased in *England* for the public Library at *Leyden*)
with the Catalogue of Sale. This he performed to
the Satisfaction of all concerned, and thereby gained
the Esteem of his Patron to such a Degree, that
he was ever afterwards solicitous for his Advance-
ment. In Compliance with the Persuasions of this
Gentleman he joined to his Studies of Philoso-
phy and Divinity that of Medicine. He designed
this last only as a Relaxation from the two former ;
but the Propensity of his Genius soon made it be-
come his most serious Business. To perfect him-
self therein, he diligently perused the best Anatomical
Writers, made frequent Dissections of living
Animals, and attended those of Professor *Nuck* ;
nay, the very Slaughter-Houses did not escape him,
but furnished him with many useful Observations.
With equal Industry and Attention he read over
the *Greek* and *Latin* Medical Authors, beginning
with *Hippocrates*, and so proceeding in a Chronologi-
cal Order,

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The Result of this was, a peculiar Attachment to *Hippocrates*, from whom he perceived all the *Latin* Writers of the Faculty had derived whatever was valuable in them. Of the Moderns he most highly esteemed that second *Hippocrates* our immortal *Sydenham*.

His next Addresses were to Chymistry, in the Study and Processes of which he sometimes spent whole Days and Nights successively.

He made a considerable Proficiency in Botany, by the Help of the *Flores Floræ Hermannianæ*; but, besides these, he was indefatigable in examining, not only the Plants in the Physic-Garden, but in the Fields, Rivers, and even in Places almost inaccessible.

However, amidst all these different Researches, he incessantly prosecuted his Theological Studies; having not the least Intention of deserting the Sacred Function, to which his Father had destin'd him. He designed, before his Initiation therein, to have deliver'd an Oration on this Question, "Why so many Converts to Christianity were made formerly by illiterate Teachers, and so few are made by the learned of the present Age?"

As he had, for some time, purpos'd to take a Degree in Physic, before he entred on the Sacred Office, for that End, he went to the University of *Harderwic* in *Guelderland*, where he was created Doctor, in *July*, 1693; On which Occasion he defended a Thesis, on the *Usefulness of inspecting the Excrements of the Sick, in order to know the State of the Patient*.

It was his Design, as soon as he returned to *Leyden*, to have engaged directly in the Ministry; but Providence had otherwise decreed. An incidental Expression of his, in a Conversation that happen'd in the Boat as he came, concerning the Doctrine of *Spinoza*, entirely defeated his Intention. An ill-natur'd Fellow-Passenger took
Occasion

Occasion thence to suspect, and as soon as they arrived at *Leyden*, to propagate a Report, that *Boerhaave* was become a *Spinofist*. This Scandal was entertained by so many, and made so sensible an Impression, that our Candidate, perceiving it, began to fear, lest a Licence for Preaching should be refused him, if he applied for it. Upon this he consulted with some of his principal Friends, whether he should hazard such a Repulse, or whether, as he had the requisite Knowledge and other proper Qualifications of a Physician, he had not better lay aside all Thoughts of Divinity, as a Profession, and apply himself entirely to Medicine. They unanimously approved of the latter Alternative; and, in Consequence of that Determination, we shall henceforth find him directing all his Views, and exercising all his Talents, for his own Reputation and the Benefit of Mankind, in that most useful and honourable Sphere.

At his first setting out in this Way, he did not presently rise to Fame and Practice; on the contrary, he saw several, inferior to him in Merit, surpassing him in these Respects. This did not check, but rather excited him more in the Pursuit of Knowledge; being ambitious of no Success but what should be founded on his Deserts. And so eager was he to establish this firmest Basis of Prosperity, that he shunned any thing that might interrupt so virtuous a Labour: And therefore it was, that he declined an Invitation from one of King *William* of *England's* chief Favourites, for settling at the *Hague*, on very alluring Terms, and still greater Expectations; apprehending the Engagements of that Situation would prove too frequent an Avocation from his beloved Studies.

In 1701, he was prevailed on to supply the Place of Professor *Drelincourt*, then deceased, as Lecturer upon the Institutes of Physic. On his undertaking this Employment he delivered an Oration, *May*
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the 18th, N. S. “ recommending *Hippocrates*, re-
 “ presenting the Office and Sects of Physicians,
 “ the Origin of the Art among the *Babylonians*
 “ and *Chaldeans*, the State of it among the *Greeks*
 “ and *Egyptians*, the primary Conjunction of
 “ Theory with Practice, the Abuse of the former,
 “ by giving it the Preeminence over Observation and
 “ Experience, and the Necessity of collecting Facts
 “ undisguised and untainted by any Hypotheses.”

In his Lectures on the Medical Institutes he took
 all proper Occasions of introducing Chymistry.
 This Method was to his Pupils so pleasing, that
 they unanimously importun'd him to instruct them
 in that Art. He complied, and went through a
 Course of it in so extraordinary a Manner, as in-
 duced the University of *Groningen*, two Years af-
 terwards, in 1703, to offer him their vacant Pro-
 fessorship of Medicine. He declined the Invitation,
 with grateful Acknowledgments however of the
 Favour intended him. His Patron, M. VANDEN-
 BERG, then a Burgomaster of *Leyden*, and one
 of the Curators also of that University, set this
 Invitation and Refusal in so advantageous a Light,
 that a Decree pass'd for an Augmentation of his annual
 Salary where he was, and for the Reversion of the
 next Medical Professorship that should there become
 vacant. Hereupon he pronounced a second Oration,
 concerning “ the extreme Usefulness, and even Ne-
 “ cessity, of Mechanical Reasoning in Physic.”

On the 18th of *February*, N. S. 1709. he was
 appointed Professor of Medicine and Botany, upon
 the Decease of Dr. HORTON. The Subjects of his
 inaugural Speech were, “ the Simplicity of true Me-
 “ dical Science, the Corruption of it by Alchemi-
 “ cal and Metaphysical Rhapsodists, and the only
 “ effectual Method of improving and establishing it,
 “ by Observation, Experiments, and Deductions
 “ naturally resulting from thence.” He discharged
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the Duties of this Station with his accustomed Industry, and, in a few Years, enriched the Physic Garden with a vast Encrease of Plants.

In 1714, he was promoted to the Rectorship of the University. The same Year, *August* 8. N. S. he was constituted Professor of the Practice of Physic, in the Room of BIDLOO. In the Exercise of this Function he attended the University Infirmary twice a Week, to the great Advantage both of his Pupils and Patients. It was about this Time, probably, that he was created President of the Chirurgical College.

At the Expiration of his Rectorship, in 1725, he delivered an Oration “on the Method of obtaining Certainty in Physic.” In this Discourse he had censured DES CARTES, for founding a System of Physiology on Hypothesis, which can be solidly grounded on Experiment only. This was heinously resented by one ANDALA, an orthodox Cartesian Professor of Divinity and Philosophy at *Franeker*, who, thinking the Stability of the Church depended on that of his Master’s Principles, pronounced it to be in the utmost Danger by this Attack of them. He inveighed bitterly against Mr. BOERHAAVE, as propagating *Spinozism* and Infidelity. This was so false and ill-founded an Accusation, that the Governors of the University to which *Andala* belonged insisted on his retracting the Scandal, notwithstanding Mr. BOERHAAVE’s generous Instances to the contrary. This Affair only added a greater Lustre to his Character.

His Name was now celebrated in Foreign Nations; and this same Year the Academy of Sciences at *Paris* testified its Esteem by a Diploma, appointing him a Correspondent in Natural Philosophy; and in 1728 he was elected a Member of that Learned Body, in the Room of Count MARSIGLI, deceased, his intimate Friend. *April* 30. 1730, he
was

Art. 19. For DECEMBER, 1743. 459
was propos'd by Dr. *Mortimer*, one of its Secretaries, to the Royal Society at *London*, and he was chosen a Fellow, *Nemine Contradicente*.

His own University embrac'd all Opportunities of advancing his Fame and Interest: Accordingly, in 1718, he succeeded *LE MORT*, in the Professorship of Chymistry; and on the 21st of *September* he delivered an Oration on this Subject, "That Chymistry was capable of clearing itself from its own Errors."

On the 22d of the same Month, just three Years afterwards, he pronounced a funeral Eulogium on his late Friend and Colleague Professor *BERNARD ALBINUS*, Father of *SIEGFRIED ALBINUS*, the present celebrated Professor of Anatomy at *Leyden*. Herein he drew his own as truly as the Deceased's Portrait, while he was extolling that good Man's "incessant Diligence, in the Pursuit of new Discoveries; his Wisdom, in founding his Natural Philosophy on Mathematics and Mechanics, and furnishing himself from thence, as well as from Chymistry, with most valuable Assistances in the healing Art; his Labour, in collecting, digesting, and applying to the Improvement of his Profession, all that was to be found useful in the Anatomical, Chirurgical, Theoretical, or Practical Writers, antient and modern; his Judgment, in Methodizing the Fruit of his laborious Researches; and the Perspicuity, Candour and Courtesy which accompanied all his publick Exercises."

While Mr. *BOERHAAVE* was thus laboriously discharging so many important Functions, depending too much on the Strength of his Constitution, he was, about the Middle of *August*, 1722, seized with a violent Fit of the Gout, which confined him to his Bed near six Months. In 1727, he underwent another very dangerous Illness, owing to the same Cause as the former. Being threatned with
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a Relapse in the Year 1729, he found himself under a Necessity of resigning the Professorships of Botany and Chymistry. This Event occasioned an elegant Declamation, *April 28*, N. S. in which he commemorates many fortunate Incidents of his Life, gratefully acknowledges the Favours of those who contributed thereto, and expatiates on the Pleasures which attended the Prosecution of his Botanical and Chymical Employments.

His eighth and last Oration was delivered, *Feb. 8. 1731*, on his resigning the Rectorship a second Time. In this Discourse he proves, that a strict Observation of and Obedience to Nature is the Physician's indispensable Duty, his only Merit, what intitles him to the highest Honours in his Profession, and is, moreover, the surest Road to Success.

This most useful and illustrious Life is drawing towards a Period. The above-mentioned Illness, which seiz'd Mr. BOERHAAVE in 1722, and which proceeded from his exposing himself to the Morning Dews before Sun-rising, was attended with excruciating arthritic Pains, and at length terminated in a paralytic Affection, which almost deprived him of Feeling, and entirely of the Use of his Legs; so that he was obliged to lie whole Months on his Back, without being able to turn himself, on account of the Torment he suffered by the least Bending. He attributed his Recovery, after finding no Relief from any other Medicines, to the plentiful Use of the express Juices of the lactescent and pappescent Plants, assisted with the ferulaceous Gums. It was on *January* the 11th that he again opened his private College, after this long and terrible Disorder: The Evening of which Day was celebrated with public Rejoicings and Illuminations. The Fever that attacked him about the End of 1727 not only brought him to the very Brink of the

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the Grave, but so irrecoverably impaired his Constitution, that he was constrained, as we have said, to divest himself of his two Professorships, in the Exercises of which he chiefly delighted ; though he still laboured in private with great Affiduity, even till the Middle of the Year 1737, when he was seized with that fatal Distemper, which put a Close to his invaluable Life, and unwearied Endeavours for the Good of Mankind.

The first Symptom was a Difficulty of Breathing, which increased gradually. He has described his Indisposition, in some of his Letters, in Terms becoming a Physician, a Philosopher, and a Christian. In one he wrote to his learned Friend, Baron BASSAND, he thus expresses himself : “ An Imposthuation of the Lungs, which has daily increased for “ these last three Months, almost suffocates me upon “ the least Motion ; if it should continue to increase without breaking, I must sink under it ; if it “ should break, the Event is still dubious ; happen “ what may, why should I be concern’d, since it “ cannot be but according to the Will of the Supreme Being, what else should I desire ? God “ be praised. In the mean time, I am not wanting “ in the Use of the most approved Remedies, in “ order to mitigate the Disease, by promoting Maturation, no ways anxious about the Success of “ them : I have lived to upwards of Sixty-eight “ Years, and always chearful.” Finding also unusual Pulsations of the Artery in the Right Side of the Neck, and Intermiſſions of the Pulse, he concluded there were polypous Concretions between the Heart and Lungs, with a Dilatation of the Vessels. *September* the 8th, 1738, he wrote his Case, as follows, to Dr. *Mortimer*, Secretary of the Royal Society : “ It is a Year since Age, Application, and “ immoderate Fatness, have produced an utter Inepititude

"titude to any kind of Exercise in such a heavy
 "corpulent Body, full of inert Humours, and,
 "upon the least Motion, gasping for Breath, with
 "a Pulse strangely irregular ; but the most urgent
 "Symptom was, the Interruption or Stoppage of
 "Respiration on falling asleep, and the Prevention
 "of any Rest, by a sudden terrible Sensation, as
 "of Strangling ; upon which the Abdomen with
 "all the Parts below it became dropical : And
 "notwithstanding the Removal of these Symptoms,
 "there remain Pain of the Belly, with great Weak-
 "ness and Anxiety, a suffocating Asthma, short
 "are my Slumbers, disturbed with Dreams, the
 "Mind is incapable of any Business ; wearied with
 "Conflict, I gain no Release, yet patiently wait
 "the Divine Pleasure, to which I am wholly re-
 "sign'd." Thus did Reason and Faith happily
 contribute, to support him under those Pressures
 which had else been intolerable.

During this Disease, he intimated to one of his
 Friends, that he had a clearer Perception of the Di-
 stinction and Union of the spiritual and corporeal
 Parts of him, than was attainable by meer Medi-
 tation ; as if not otherways procurable than by long
 Sickness.

Toward the End of *August* he seemed somewhat
 better, but soon relapsed ; and declining to the 23d
 of *September*, yet still maintaining a serene Compo-
 sure, he then expired, aged Seventy, wanting three
 Months.

His Death caused an universal undissembled
 Mourning ; not only his Pupils and particular Ac-
 quaintance were affected by the irreparable Loss,
 but it was felt and lamented by the University and
 City of *Leyden*, to both which he had long been
 the highest Honour and Emolument, by the Re-
 public of *Holland*, and by that of Learning. Well
 did he merit the Character given of him, by the
 judicious

judicious Translator of our Royal Society's Transactions into *French*.* " This great Man is departed, " to the irretrievable Loss of Philosophy and Physic. Long was he the Oracle of his Faculty, and " the Physician of all *Europe*. Never was Preceptor more beloved, Professor more celebrated, " nor Physician more consulted. He arrived to an " Eminence in all the Branches of Medicine, had the " Glory of teaching them with equal Applause, and " the Happiness of seeing himself admired without " being obnoxious to the Effects of Envy, or to " any disparaging Contradiction ; insomuch that " he was never mentioned by the greatest of his " Contemporaries, but with Encomiums. His sole " Authority, without the Support of Arguments, " was admitted as decisive. He was not less successful in Practice, than learned in Theory, and is " therefore stiled the *Battavian Hippocrates*. The " Qualities of his Mind rendered him still more " amiable than those of his Understanding. He " was a sure Patron to Men of Genius and Learning, employing his own Reputation, as it were " wholly for their Service." The ingenious Author of the *English* Account of his Life, adds to the above Panegyric : " He was a Man of a vast Comprehension, profound Judgment, prodigious Memory, solid Experience, and unparallel'd Modesty. His Religion, though strict, was rational ; " he sought Truth constantly, espoused it zealously, " and on his Labours Mankind may safely rely ; " he was faithful and civil to his very Enemies ; " his Skill not only in Philosophy and Physic was " revered by all who excel in those Studies, " but his Attainments in other Learning excited " Admiration. His Knowledge had a right Influence

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* By way of Note to *Boerhaave's* last Paper on Mercury, 1736, N. 434, p. 242.

“ fluence upon the Temper of his Mind, which
 “ was endowed with all the Humility, Benevo-
 “ lence, Fortitude, and Sincerity, of a sound and
 “ unaffected Philosopher”.

It cannot be disagreeable to the Reader, that I subjoin to these Memoirs of Mr. BOERHAAVE, a brief Account of such of his Writings as have not been taken Notice of in the foregoing Narrative.

His *Institutiones Medicæ* first appear'd in 1707, about six Years after he commenced Lecturer, and two Years before he was advanced to a Professorship. They were printed in Octavo, and have passed several Editions. The Author therein, after a brief but accurate History of the Origin, Progress and Success of the Art, considers the Principles thereof, and distinguishes its several Branches. He enters into a Disquisition of the Animal Œconomy, treats of the Aliment, which he pursues through the whole Process of its Preparation, by the respective Organs and Operations of the Machine, till it is converted into the Substance of the Body. All this he does so fully, with such Judgment and Perspicuity, rejecting vain Hypotheses, delivering no Proposition as certain, that is not grounded on Observation, Experiments, or clear Deductions from them, that the Work has merited and met with the Approbation of the most eminent Physicians. It was the Fruit of a superior Knowledge in Mathematics, Anatomy, Philosophy, and Chemistry, directed and applied by a sagacious Understanding, with unwearied Industry. The Fame of it extended not throughout *Europe* only, but into *Asia* and elsewhere. It was by Order of the *Musti* translated and printed in the *Arabic* Language at *Constantinople*, to spread the Doctrine of it throughout the *Ottoman* Empire.

In 1708 he publish'd his *Aphorisms* for the Knowledge and Cure of Diseases; which Book has likewise undergone several Impressions at *Leyden*. It was the Produce of intense Labour and exquisite Judgment. The Author acknowledges himself to have been chiefly enlightned into this Subject, by the Writings of the *Greek* Physicians, those skilful and diligent Followers of Nature; and he has transferred into this Work the most valuable Observations and Precepts of *Hippocrates*, together with what is of greatest Use in the rest of the *Greek* and *Latin* Physicians, as well as in the best of the *Arabian* and modern Writers: Taking Care, however, not to recommend or alledge any thing from the latter, but what he had confirmed by his own Experience. In short, we have in this Treatise an incomparable System, made up of the approved Discoveries of the greatest Ornaments of the Faculty, in which all the principal Distempers are represented with their mutual Relations, and the Causes Concomitants and Cure of each are distinctly and accurately stated: And all this so methodically, that, as in Geometry, beginning with the most simple, he proceeds gradually to the less and more complicated, so that the preceding illustrate the following Truths, and a disagreeable Repetition is avoided.

It must be owned, that both the *Institutes* and *Aphorisms* are delivered with such Brevity, the Doctrines thereof are so closely compacted, that great Sagacity, as well as Application, is requisite to the comprehending of them, so as to reap any considerable Advantage thereby. But to remedy this Inconvenience, and to render them generally useful, they have been severally commented on, by two learned Disciples of the Author: The Institutions, by Dr. HALLER; an *English* Transla-

tion of which Work is now printed in six Volumes, Octavo, at *London*, by *W. Innys*, in *Pater-noster-Row*: The Aphorisms, by Dr. VANSWEITEN, Physician, if I mistake not, at present to their Imperial Majesties. The Performance of the latter of these Gentlemen, in the *Latin* Tongue, was published at *Leyden*, in two Volumes, Quarto; an *English* Translation of which is printed by Mess. *Knapton*, of this City, in eight Volumes, Octavo. Another Volume is expected from M. VANSWEITEN. When this worthy Person has compleated his Design, the Work will be equivalent to a Library of practical Writers, and may almost obviate the Need of any other, except such as have given Histories of particular Cases, or treated of some cutaneous Diseases, and on such topical Disorders as those of the Eyes, Ears, &c.

The first Edition of Mr. BOERHAAVE'S *Materia Medica* was in 1719. It was composed solely for his own College, and not designed for the Press; but an erroneous Impression of it stealing into the World, * to prevent the Mischief which might arise from that, as well as to vindicate his own Reputation and Right, he revised and enlarged the genuine Copy, and sent it to the Press. It was reprinted in 1727, with further Corrections. This Treatise is here mentioned, not in due Order of Time, but on the Score of its Connection with the *Aphorisms*, to which it entirely relates; and the prudent Author dissuades every one from using it, who is unacquainted with the Nature of the Diseases described in the latter, and explained in his Commentaries thereon.

In

* Published at *London* 1717, in Duodecimo.

In 1710, the Year after he was made Professor of Botany, he published, in one Volume, Octavo, an Index of the Plants then in the Physic Garden at *Leyden*. Ten Years after he enlarged it to two Volumes in Quarto; prefixing a new and copious Preface, with a Plan, and short History of the Physic Garden, of all the Professors preceding him, and of the Improvements it received from each. He indeed had enrich'd it vastly beyond any of them, having more than doubled the Number of Plants that were in it when it came under his Care, and raised it to the most flourishing State of any Physic Garden in the World, it exhibiting a Specimen of almost all the rarest vegetable Productions of the several Quarters of the Earth. In this Index our Author has classed the Subject more judiciously than any before him; forming his *Genera* in the most accurate Manner; being the first and only Botanist who took to his Assistance all the Parts of Plants serving to Fructification, and gave so clear a verbal Description of them as to render the Figures of them needless.

In 1724 he published the Case of Baron WASSENAER; which, as the elegant Writer of *Boerhaave's* Life in *English* says, is justly deemed an incomparable Specimen of the Art of Description, for investigating the real State of the Patient, and the principal Indications, in most intricate Distempers.

In 1725, with the Assistance of the present Professor *Albinus*, he gave an Edition of all the Anatomical and Chirurgical Works of VESSALIUS, with the Life of that learned Anatomist.

In 1728 he set forth another accurate History of an uncommon Case, which at the End of ten Months proved fatal to the Marquis of St. AUBAN.

The same Year his Treatise on the Venereal Disease appeared ; serving as a Preface to the last Edition of the earliest Authors on that Subject.

In 1731 he put out an accurate Impression of *Aretaeus*. At this Time, in Concurrence with Dr. *Groenvelt*, he was labouring to give a compleat Edition likewise of all the *Greek* Physicians, except *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, (that were already done by *Charterus*) and had made a considerable Progress in *Nicander* ; but being greatly retarded in the Prosecution of this noble Design, by his many and urgent Occupations, his Death prevented the finishing of it.

The following Year produced his Elements of Chemistry, in two Volumes, Quarto ; which, had it been the only Labour of his Life, would have sufficed to immortalize his Character. With this excellent Work we may properly enough mention those three Memoirs on Quicksilver, which he sent to the Royal Societies of *London* and *Paris*, published in the Transactions of the former, N^o 430, 443, 444. In these Discourses he has communicated the Result of much reading and laborious Experiments, in reference to Transmutation ; which he was inclined to think feasible.

The last of his Publications was that Work of *Swammerdam*, in two Volumes, Folio, intitled, *The Bible of Nature*, in *Latin* and *Dutch*, joint Columns ; which owes its Preservation, with the Life of the Author prefix'd, wholly to him.

There were several valuable Authors, to the new Editions of which he prefix'd Prefaces. There are some Poems also of his composing.

I will close these Memoirs with a few Words concerning Mr. *Boerhaave's* publick Lectures and Improvements in Physic.

Beside the public Lecture on Botany, and the three private Lectures abovementioned on Chemistry, the Institutes and Practice of Physic, all which every Lecture-Day employed him four Hours in speaking, he frequently spent one Hour more in giving a public Lecture on some particular Subjects.

He began these Lectures about 1702, with a Course of Experimental Philosophy applied wholly to the further Explanation of the animal Œconomy. In 1709, during the Summer, he demonstrated the Plants in the Physic Garden, and in Winter explained the Structure of them. In 1710 he treated on the Method of studying Physic. In the two following Years he discoursed on the Operations of Medicines, as they act on the Solids only, the Fluids only, or on both (whether separately or at once) or lastly, as they specifically respect particular Parts or Humours. In 1713 his Lectures were on Hearing; the Year following on Vision; and afterwards on the Origin of Man; he considered the Objects of Sight and Hearing, Light and Sound, with the Diseases of the Eye and Ear. In 1715 he descanted on Respiration. From 1718 to 1728 he dwelt on the four Elements, Fire, Air, Water, Earth. In 1729 he was upon the human *Calculus*. The six ensuing Years he described the Diseases of the Nerves. During 1736, 1737, he explained the Motion of the Heart. The last public Lectures, in 1738, were on the Nature and Qualities of Blood.

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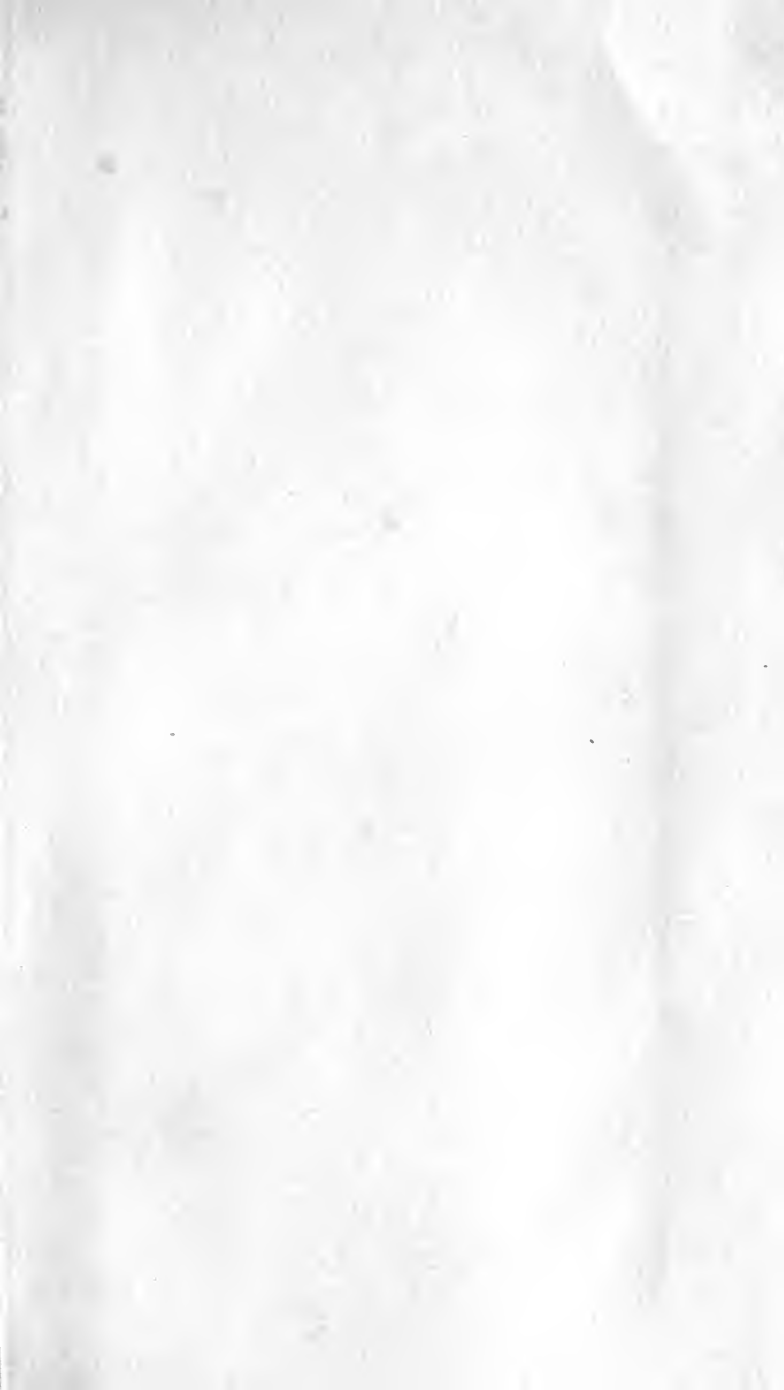
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